

Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

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Polls, Propaganda, and Democracy

GENERAL Hugh S. Johnson in the heat of the Roosevelt-Willkie campaign charged, in effect, that public opinion polls which were predicting a Roosevelt victory were themselves engines of propaganda using "secret methods." The General's statement reflected an attitude toward the polls which may become more pertinent in the months ahead, especially if the United States goes to war or enters into a "state of war," psychological or official.

Roosevelt's big electoral majority was sufficient cause for General Johnson, literally, to eat his syndicated column in which he had attacked Dr. George Gallup's poll. The General's offer to eat his words, however, failed to settle basic questions that he and others have raised concerning public opinion polls, their propaganda implications, and their role in a democratic society.

If war or a "state of war" comes to America, these questions may be more pertinent than today, because they involve emotions which are more pronounced in a war situation than in a political campaign.

It was on October 7 that General Johnson "without bias" attacked Dr. George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion as a "public evil capable of vicious abuse." In fact, he was against all polls, he said, which employed the technique of "more than routine sampling." Just two months earlier, it was Charles Michelson, publicity director of the Democratic National Committee, who likened the Gallup poll to "fortune telling." He, like General Johnson, declared that he had always "questioned the value of (such) forecasts."

Mr. Michelson discredited the Gallup poll in August when it showed Mr. Willkie leading by 77 electoral votes. The pro-Willkie General Johnson discredited it in October, when it gave Mr. Roosevelt 499 electoral votes to Mr. Willkie's 32.

Such attacks on polls reveal how propaganda may function in terms of the propagandist's interests. Naturally, political candidates and their supporters praise a poll which predicts victory for their side, and attack a poll which predicts victory for the opponents. Campaigners follow this behavior pattern because they long have had abiding faith in the Band Wagon effect. Their theory is this: if voters can be persuaded that the majority favors one candidate, they will jump on that candidate's Band Wagon and "vote for a winner." Nearly everybody wants to be on the winning side. Few wish to "throw their vote away." On the other hand, the Band Wagon can operate in reverse. Voters may jump off the Band Wagon to support the "underdog."

General Johnson praised the Dunn Survey in the same column in which, "without bias," he launched his attack on polls in general. He characterized Rogers C. Dunn's poll, with its prediction of an electoral majority of 47 votes for Mr. Willkie, as "scientific analysis," spoke of its "miraculous accuracy." He did not mention that the Dunn Survey was wrong in 1936 when it predicted a Landon victory. He presented a simple picture without actually analyzing the techniques and procedures of the two polls.

Election predictions are part of the current

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coin of political propaganda or electioneering, as Claude Robinson points out in his book, *Straw Votes*.¹ Politicians have used them to create a "victorious psychology," to maintain the morale of campaign workers. When opinion polls, based on more or less indiscriminate sampling, developed, they were used to bolster campaign predictions. With modern polls improving in accuracy, however, political propagandists are becoming chary of them. A poll which in August may show one candidate in the lead may show the opposition candidate leading a few weeks later. Thus a poll may turn around and bite the propagandist who counted on it to bolster his side consistently.

Commercial Polling

The most widely-known of today's public opinion polls are the outgrowths of surveys used by business concerns to determine the probable demand for articles of commerce. For example, a cooking utensil company, before putting into production a new type of aluminum skillet, might poll housewives to see how such a skillet would sell. If the poll figures revealed a big demand for the skillet when none really existed, the utensil company would sustain heavy losses.

The directors of the three best known opinion polls, George Gallup of the American Institute of Public Opinion, Elmo Roper of *Fortune*, and Archibald Crossley of the Crossley Polls, were all schooled in commercial polling. Dr. Gallup still is research director of the Young and Rubicam advertising agency with which he was associated before organizing his Institute in 1935. Mr. Roper and Mr. Crossley have been associated with market research for many years.

In essence, the method used by both the commercial polls and the public opinion polls which developed from them is that of discriminating sampling. Frequent polling of the entire population of the nation on any question would be expensive, impracticable; the polls, therefore, determine the opinions of the whole by sampling its representative parts. As Dr. Gallup has declared,² this procedure is neither

new nor "secret." The housewife uses it when she samples the soup she is preparing for dinner; the physician uses it when he takes a blood count. The important point is that the spoonful of soup and the cubic centimeter of blood be *representative* of all the soup, all the blood.

The modern "sampling" poll samples a cross section, representative of *all* parts of the nation. This includes various classes of voters in statistical proportion to the population as a whole: men and women, rural and urban voters, political party affiliates, occupational classes, voters in every state, age groups, and income groups.

The "sampling" poll considers all these classes because people tend to react to propaganda and to events in terms of thought patterns peculiar to their occupation, economic status, and environment. With notable exceptions, persons in similar economic and social environments tend to think alike. Persons whose backgrounds have been similar tend to have similar biases, fears, hopes, convictions, and special interests. Persons with different backgrounds and environments tend to think differently. The psychological process, Custom,³ operates here. Thus, union workers tend to favor the Wagner Act; most business men disapprove of taxes on capital, and most consumers dislike a sales tax.

Public Opinion and Lemon Pie

Messrs. Gallup, Roper, and Crossley agree that sampling income groups is a basic factor in accurate polling of public opinion. A representative cross section of such groups is like a piece of lemon pie.⁴ As Dr. Gallup and his associate, Saul Rae, point out, the pie includes the meringue on top, the lemon custard in the middle, and the crust on the bottom; it is incomplete without any one of the three parts. Similarly, an accurate cross section of public opinion is impossible unless persons in all economic strata are represented proportionately.

In 1936 the *Literary Digest* poll sent its sample ballots to persons listed in telephone books and to automobile owners and predicted the election of Landon. That poll went wrong be-

¹ Claude Robinson, *Straw Votes*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932.

² George Gallup and Saul F. Rae, *The Pulse of Democracy*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1940.

³ Custom, Simplification, Frustration, Displacement, Anxiety, Reinforcement, Rationalization, Association, Universals, Projection, Identification are the eleven psychological processes defined in *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume III, Number 10, "Propaganda for Blitzkrieg."

⁴ *The Pulse of Democracy*

cause it sampled only the meringue on top and lemon custard in the middle. It ignored the crust on the bottom—millions who had benefited by New Deal relief measures. The *Literary Digest* was right in 1932 in predicting a Roosevelt victory because many in the upper and middle income groups, like the “crust on the bottom,” were pro-Roosevelt then. They looked to him to end the “Hoover depression.” By 1936, however, many of these voters had turned against the New Deal. Its “spending” policies they regarded as inimical to their interests.

Because “sampling” polls, like those of Dr. Gallup, are primarily commercial products, they cannot afford to be wrong too often on minor issues or crashingly wrong on a major issue. A gross error would be ruinous. The *Literary Digest* conducted its polls to increase its circulation. Its poll went wrong in 1936; subscriptions fell off; the magazine failed—a cause-and-effect relationship, to many. Gallup, Roper, and Crossley sell their opinion polls. If they go spectacularly wrong, they, like the *Literary Digest*, may be through. Nor can they afford, they say, to put their polls to propaganda uses, for their sales depend upon a reputation for continued reliability and accuracy.

“A Daniel Come to Judgment”

While the “sampling” polls thus cite commercial incentives for reliability, their findings are considered “good” or “bad” propaganda by millions of Americans in terms of various interpretations of “good” and “bad.” If the poll findings coincide with the hopes of some, they praise the polls as “accurate, scientific, fair.” Shakespeare had a phrase for it: “A Daniel come to judgment.” But long before Shakespeare, this Reinforcement process, strengthening hopes, was well known. “How beautiful upon the mountains,” said the Prophet Isaiah, “are the feet of him who bringeth good tidings.”

If the findings are not in accord with the hopes of other voters, the Reinforcement process goes into reverse, runs into Anxiety and Frustration. “How unsightly upon the mountains are the feet of him who bringeth bad tidings.” Thus, reactions to the public opinion polls reveal that most persons tend to react to facts and opinions in conformity to their own fixed habits of thought—in terms of their wishful thinking.

Except during election years, when intensity of conflict brings an increase in emotionally-charged propaganda, few have questioned the integrity of the Gallup, *Fortune*, or Crossley polls. The social value of these polls, however, is openly questioned by some.

For example, Walter M. Pierce, United States representative from Oregon, believes that opinion polls wield a Band Wagon influence potent enough to “create opinion, rather than measure it.” He holds that the polls can be, and are, used for propaganda purposes by many groups.⁵ He argues that Congressmen cite the polls (the familiar Testimonial device) to substantiate contentions that certain legislation should or should not be passed. Mr. Pierce believes that “one out of five” casts a Band Wagon vote during an election, and that the polls are partly responsible. Such critics say the polls militate against the critical examination of candidates and issues which should precede the act of voting in a democracy.

The Majority Is Right?

Dr. Gallup dissents. If polls create a Band Wagon vote, he holds, the widely publicized *Literary Digest* poll should have elected Mr. Landon in 1936. Dr. Gallup believes, too, that democracy can be maintained best by revealing, not ignoring, what people think. He gives assent to the view, held by Lord Bryce, that the people of America have “broad good sense and attachment to the great principles of the Constitution” and that “to the people we come, sooner or later.”

Another critic of polls, Dr. Robert S. Lynd, co-author of *Middletown*, holds, however, that polls encourage the assumption that “the majority is always right.” Says Dr. Lynd: “As the individual citizen reads the results of a poll in *Fortune* or in his morning paper, he gets a comfortable sense that *vox populi* is in the saddle and all’s right with democracy. . . . Public opinion polls can help (bring about necessary social change) by an active policy of polling people stratified by competence on a given problem, aimed at disclosing and hammering home to the public the operational poverty of mass opinion on the details of many public matters involving social change.”

⁵ *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, June, 1940.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Some say that belief in the omniscience of the majority, however comforting, is not always salutary; witness the popular support of all manner of anti-social practices and superstitions, such as the gladiatorial combats, the persecution of "heretics," the hanging of "witches," slavery, and lynching, all springing from emotionally-charged ignorance of majorities, not from their omniscience. The dictum, "the majority is always right," is, in itself, effective propaganda. It reinforces Custom. It allays Anxiety caused by minority opinion. It appeals to traditions, biases, and convictions. It eliminates if's and but's. With this dictum accepted, the citizen's task is simple: find out what the majority thinks and vote accordingly. It is this Band Wagon psychology which propagandists harness to achieve desired objectives.

"You Can't Fool All the People"

Defenders of the opinion polls may admit much of this, but they cite Abraham Lincoln, ("you can't fool *all* of the people *all* the time") and Lord Bryce in their contention that *in the long run* the people tend to be right.

Expert direction and trained intelligence can fit into the framework of the American form of government, poll defenders say in answer to such critics as Dr. Lynd, only in so far as such direction and intelligence determine methods by which popular decisions may be carried out. And, if public opinion polls are so bad, they ask, why aren't elections equally bad?

Are public opinion polls in themselves propaganda instruments? Consciously or unconsciously, they may well be, for the selection and wording of the questions which they put to their sample cross sections fall into one or more of four categories:

(1) Omission. Deliberately or otherwise, questions may omit or ignore ideas which are unpopular, "delicate," or taboo; for example, ideas of racial superiority or inferiority, and various political and religious ideas the very recognition of which might provoke bitterness and controversy.

(2) Commission. The question deliberately is so worded as to evoke a predetermined response. For example, an employers' opinion poll¹ once asked: "Should every worker be

forced to join a union?" The word "forced" was calculated to evoke a negative answer.

(3) Suggestion. Where Commission seeks to *force* a pre-determined answer, Suggestion, perhaps unconsciously, simply *suggests* it. The Gallup poll recently asked: "Should Communist party candidates be allowed the same amount of time on the radio as the Democratic and Republican candidates?" This suggested and received a negative answer. It implied that perhaps the Bill of Rights should not apply to an unpopular political party.

(4) Objectivism. The question deliberately attempts to evoke an answer uninfluenced by the poll itself—an answer which is not limited or conditioned by Omission, Commission, or Suggestion. The question, "For whom will you vote for president of the United States?" illustrates Objectivism. It gives to the pollee full liberty to name any candidate, with no particular candidates omitted or suggested.

Omission, Suggestion, and Commission often overlap—one may be included in another. This is not true of Objectivism.

The "sampling" polls, according to some, frequently illustrate Omission. For example, the Gallup poll recently asked: "Wendell Willkie proposed that he and President Roosevelt hold a series of debates. . . . Do you think the President should accept the proposal?" But the poll did not add: "Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for President of the United States, has challenged Mr. Willkie and Mr. Roosevelt to a debate. Should they accept the proposal?" Adverse critics ask, too, why the polls have not revealed whether the public approves or disapproves of Father Charles E. Coughlin; they ask why Dr. Gallup, who sells his findings to newspapers, has never sampled newspaper readers to determine favorable and unfavorable attitudes toward the press.

Censorship Charged

Omission of questions of public interest by the polls is tantamount to censorship, say the critics; such censorship, by omitting the if's and but's, makes the issues at stake seem simple, thereby making easier the task of propagandists, who aim to consolidate and "set" public thought.

Dr. Gallup, Mr. Roper, and Mr. Crossley, on the other hand, hold that issues raised by min-

¹ Paul Studenski, "How Polls Can Mislead," *Harpers*, December, 1939.

orities often are too insignificant in public opinion to merit consideration. They say that choice of questions is, by necessity, arbitrary, that they cannot poll on *all* subjects. In practice, the "sampling" polls usually confine themselves to the most widely discussed issues.

Whatever the facts with respect to deliberate omission of questions which might cause popular discussion of issues raised by unpopular minorities, the polls do not entirely exclude them. The Gallup poll, for example, raised the issue of prevention of social diseases. The findings showed a large majority in favor of government clinics for the treatment of the diseases. Taboos on public discussion of the subject began to be lifted.

"Sins" of Commission

Polls which fall into the second category, Commission, are "persuasion polls," conducted to elicit predetermined answers. For example, a poll propagandizing for labor might ask: "Should employers forcibly prevent labor from organizing?" The word "forcibly" would color the question to elicit the answer, "No." The Gallup, Roper, and Crossley polls frequently are charged with such Commission. They assert that they scrupulously try to avoid it.

Sponsors of the modern opinion polls aver, too, that they try to eliminate questions which convey Suggestion. They take great pains, they explain, to so phrase questions as to reduce incidence of bias and color. Actually, as Dr. Gallup points out, it is virtually impossible to remove all traces of Suggestion. The Gallup poll, for example, has sampled public opinion frequently on the question of American aid to Great Britain. This series falls into the Suggestion category in that it implies that aid should be given and that the real issue is *how much* the United States should give.

The fourth category, Objectivism, is the stated goal of the modern "sampling" polls. In so far as they attain this goal, the polls, by democratic standards, are not sinister or evil, nor do they disseminate harmful propaganda.

The Gallup, Roper, and Crossley polls claim no infallibility. They explain that they cannot always be absolutely correct. Dr. Gallup says he allows his poll a four per cent margin of error, but that he, through constant refinement of his polling technique, hopes to minimize the

margin of error. Accuracy should not be judged, the pollers believe, in accordance with the prediction of a candidate's victory. A candidate might win an election by a majority of three per cent of the votes. The poll which predicted his defeat by one per cent would be more nearly accurate than the one which predicted his election by eight per cent. Polls must be judged by their records of consistency in accurate prediction.

Dr. Gallup, Mr. Roper, and Mr. Crossley agree that the time element is another important factor in accurate "sampling." Last-minute opinion shifts can cause a poll to seem entirely inaccurate, when actually the poll is only "dated." For example, according to Mr. Roper, John L. Lewis, in his speech supporting Willkie, succeeded in swinging more than 6 per cent of the labor vote from Roosevelt to the Republican candidate.

Too, if a poll could mirror opinion exactly, the election would not necessarily verify the poll's accuracy. For example, a candidate, who is favored by a small majority and whose principal support is among rural voters, might lose the election if bad weather kept the farmers at home on election day. Too, corruption, such as the stuffing of ballot boxes, can cause wide discrepancy between published election results and the more nearly accurate findings of a public opinion poll. This happened, apparently, in Louisiana's gubernatorial election of January, 1940.

The Polls and Democracy

A public opinion poll can approach accuracy only if it is conducted in a democratic country where freedom of expression is a reality. People can take stands "for" or "against" issues only if the democratic process is at work, only when there is a *competition* of propagandas. When the government controls all the channels of communication, as in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Russia, control of majority opinion is easy.⁸ Dictator governments have no competition, but a *monopoly*, of propaganda. Events created by the dictator—as Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia or Stalin's attack on Finland—call forth universal praise in the dictator countries, for nothing but praise would be permitted. Fear of the secret police makes freedom

⁸ *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume I, Number 8, "Propaganda Techniques of German Fascism."

of expression in dictator countries impossible. Polls, therefore, as mirrors of public opinion, would be useless if attempted.

Critics of the New Deal aver that Roosevelt has created propaganda events, such as the "destroyer deal" and the evacuation of American citizens from the Far East. They believe that such events, plus government regulation of radio, helped to build a popular acceptance of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy. Actually, the fact remains that there is a free competition of propagandas in America and on a scale found in no other nation. Public opinion polls, therefore, can approach accuracy here at present.

What would happen to the opinion polls, however, if America were involved in war or a "state of war?" Would the polls themselves, in the questions they ask and the way they ask them, be increasingly influenced by the propaganda of the crisis and by governmental control? The probable answers, given by various students of public opinion, suggest the relationship of the polls to propaganda, as creators, or reflectors, of it.

First: the polls might be prohibited as they were in France and as they are in all dictator countries.

Second: the polls might be influenced by government and Band Wagon propagandas to such a degree that they would mirror only the propaganda policies of the government or of pressure groups approved by the government.

Third: the polls, with the propaganda of the crisis, might operate as pressures to make public opinion frenzied or hysterical.

Fourth: the polls, with increasing Objectivism and accuracy, might continue to function as mirrors of public opinion and reflectors of diverse propagandas.

Realization of any of the first three possibilities could negate democracy. Realization of the fourth, in determining quickly the emergent wishes and needs of the citizens, could give democracy a dynamic impetus which could rival, if not exceed, totalitarian efficiency. At the same time, it could strengthen and enhance the democratic process.

Propaganda Analysis Guide

There is no real evidence for the belief that polls create a Band Wagon vote among voters. This is the conclusion Dr. George Gallup reaches after analyzing poll data collected by the American Institute of Public Opinion.¹ Indeed, Dr. Gallup, Director of the Institute, questions whether or not the Band Wagon theory, as it affects issues and elections, has any substantiation in fact.

Dr. Gallup's contention challenges the thinking and the writing of many students of public opinion. It challenges the politicians and others who proceed on the assumption that the Band Wagon is a powerful propaganda appeal. It challenges the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, which lists Band Wagon as one of its seven common propaganda devices. "The Band Wagon is a device," according to the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, "to make us follow

the crowd, to accept the propagandist's program en masse. Here his theme is: 'Everybody's doing it.'"²

Is Dr. Gallup right? Are many students of public opinion, politicians, and the Institute for Propaganda Analysis wrong?

Here is an area into which we should inquire—in our classrooms, in our study groups. Do voters, actually, withhold support until they feel sure they can "back a winner?" Do voters, not wishing to "throw away" their votes, "jump on the Band Wagon," because "everybody's doing it?"

There are many angles from which we may approach inquiry into the so-called Band Wagon theory of propaganda. Several considerations follow which may be used to stimulate group discussion and thinking.³

¹ George Gallup and Saul Forbes Rae, "Is There a Band Wagon Vote?" *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, June, 1940.

² *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume I, Number 2, "How to Detect Propaganda."

³ For guides to effective group discussion see the *Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis*, Appendix, pages 1-31.

I. GROUP DISCUSSION

How Does Band Wagon Work?

Public opinion is the aggregate opinion of many individuals and of many groups. It shifts, it changes under the impact of events, of everyday life experiences, and of organized pressures, or propagandas, which play upon prejudices, ideals, fears, and hopes.

Let us look at some of the individuals and groups whose opinions go into the making of "public opinion," in the light of this question:

What are the effects upon the following persons and groups when a poll show Candidate X leading Candidate Y by a considerable majority?

1. Specifically, what is the effect upon those persons and groups actively involved in seeking the election of Candidate X?

Does the poll give them so much self-confidence that they think they can safely rest upon their laurels? Do they lessen, or stop altogether, contributions to X's campaign fund, considering the election already won? By so doing, are they in conceivable danger of "losing the race" in much the same manner as the Hare lost the race to the Tortoise?

If these reactions take place, is not the Band Wagon propaganda device (a charge against public opinion polls lately) producing negative responses, both from a practical and a social point of view? May not these persons' responses run contrary to what we usually consider the Bandwagon response—increased activity, theme song, "Everybody's doing it."

2. Moreover, what is the effect upon individuals and groups actively involved in working for Candidate Y?

The Band Wagon effect of polls, attributed to them by some, may be said to be negative if these groups become discouraged, saying, "What is the use of throwing good money after bad?" or "Candidate X has already won; there's no use in bucking the tide."

If, however, Candidate Y's supporters are spurred on to renewed efforts by the prospect of defeat, if they make increased money contributions in an attempt to save their investments, then we see Band Wagon in reverse.

3. Finally, what is the effect upon persons and groups not actively engaged in supporting Candidate X or Candidate Y?

Will they think: Candidate X's election is already sure; therefore, since I want as large a minority vote as possible (I don't want Candidate X to have a mandate from all the people) for the well-being of democracy, I shall vote for Candidate Y, even though I do not want him to be elected.

These persons may have in mind the maintaining of the two party system in America, or they may, because they do not think the election close, cast their votes for candidates of the minor parties because they believe in some of the principles of socialism, or because they wish to add to a labor vote. Can it not be said that in the case of these persons the Band Wagon device has failed?

Or, will these persons and groups react entirely negatively, saying, "Well, I think I'll go fishing. X will be elected, anyway."

These are possible reactions and courses of action. You may have observed many of them during the 1940 Presidential election campaign. What others can you suggest? What others have you observed?

II. GROUP DISCUSSION

Looking at the Band Wagon

Question: How does the cry, "Everybody's doing it," affect people?

Discussion Leads: Women sometimes wear short skirts not necessarily because they prefer short skirts, but because a long skirt would make them feel "different," would make them feel "like freaks," would make them feel uncomfortable on the street. Likewise, in certain groups to be "for" the election of Candidate Y would make one feel uncomfortable. However, here we may find the fallacy of the Band Wagon theory: on a nationwide scale the advocates of Candidate Y may not be in *sufficient minority* to provoke ridicule. A Republican in the South can be made to feel queer; a Republican need not feel queer in Ohio or California. This may account for the fallacy of Band Wagon appeals in national issues. Consider other effects of social pressure. In certain groups was not social pressure a factor in the 1940 Presidential election campaign?

Remember, however, that the ballot is secret, that when a person goes to the polling booth no one knows how he votes. How may this fact affect the practical propaganda power of Band Wagon appeals?

On the other hand, *do* our politicians in their speeches and actions follow the dictum of the polls? Do they, as James Bryce predicted in 1891, although he could not foresee the "sampling" poll, shape their courses of action in accordance with their "reading" of the popular will? "It is to this kind of government that democratic nations seem to be tending," Bryce wrote.⁴

Consider, also, the following contradiction: If the Band Wagon principle, or device, *always* operated there would be no change. We do know that a democracy lives by the minority's becoming the majority; that is, the minority, which is not too small, gains followers; it gains respectability; it may become a majority. A person may, for example, with social immunity, champion the cause of either one of the major political parties, even though the party has minority support at the time. He may not, however, with immunity, champion Hitler or an extremely unpopular idea, such as atheism or Communism.

Proponents of the Band Wagon principle of propaganda, at this point, will remind us that the Band Wagon device, after all, is only *one* of seven or more common propaganda appeals, that it is related to, and dependent upon, other propaganda devices, *i.e.*, Name Calling, Transfer, Testimonial, Glittering Generalities, Plain Folks.

Discussion of these questions may lead to considerations of other psychological factors. *Examples:*

1. In any society the conflict of ideas is represented by a contest between men; the conflict of ideas is resolved in terms of men, of personifications. To most people the New Deal is personified by Franklin D. Roosevelt; middle class business in America by Wendell L. Willkie; England is personified by Churchill; National Socialism by Hitler; Communism by Stalin; old age pensions by Dr. Townsend.
2. Consider, also, in discussion: what very special problems did Sinclair Lewis' Dr. Arrowsmith have with his "control group" of human beings that Pasteur did not have in his work with a "control group" of animals?

⁴James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, London, The MacMillan Co., New York, 1891.

3. We transfer to the political arena the feelings of the sports arena. Nine times out of ten the champion in the ring gets our applause. However, sometimes, in a split second during the bout, our sympathies swing to the underdog: he is so gallant, "he is standing up and taking his beating."

People, as we know, are complicated. They have contradictions. One of these, for example, has us say: "We Americans love 'success,'" and, "Nothing succeeds like success"—a feeling which plays into the hands of the politician who employs the Band Wagon device. Opposed to this, however, is our admiration for the man bravely fighting for a lost cause—a sentiment which may make the Band Wagon device work in reverse.

List other psychological contradictions in people which may affect the way in which the Band Wagon device works—either positively or negatively. Send your group's discussion notes and conclusions to the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, 40 E. 49 Street, New York City.

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.
40 EAST FORTY-NINTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

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The Institute does not have all the answers: it lays no claim to infallibility. It will try to be scientific, objective and accurate. If it makes mistakes, it will acknowledge them. It asks those who receive its bulletins to check its work.

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Propaganda and Latin America

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FROM the winding Rio Grande southward into the Antarctic, on the semi-arid plains of northern Mexico and in the fever-ridden swamps of Yucatan, in the valley of the Orinoco, and clinging to scraps of farmland that crazy-quilt the Andes, live 120,000,000 Americans, some of them white, most of them Indians and *mestizos*. They are descendents of the *conquistadores*, who trickled into the New World early in the sixteenth century to carve out an empire for Spain, another for Portugal: they are descendents of the Aztecs, Toltecs, Incas, and Mayas, whom the *conquistadores* enslaved. Sprinkled among them are immigrants, or the children of immigrants, from Germany, Italy, Spain, England, and even the United States. For there are other gateways into the New World than Ellis Island, though few so crowded.

We call them Latin Americans. They are really twenty different peoples, living in twenty different nations, similar in some respects, distinct in others. They are intensely nationalistic. This spirit persists, says Duncan Aikman, "in spite of linguistic affinity between all the republics and the fact that eighteen of them speak the same language—in spite of the obvious similarities between their social and cultural inheritances from Europe."¹ He calls it "synthetic nationalism." Synthetic or not, it has precipitated war after war through 100 tumultuous years. Some were comic opera wars, plotted like an O. Henry story, complete to handsome *Yanqui* gunrunner and pretty *senorita*. Others—and especially the Paraguayan war of

1865—were of almost unparalleled ferocity. The population of Paraguay was approximately 1,000,000 when it started: after five years of intense fighting, only 225,000 women and 25,000 men remained alive. "There has been no other war like it," says John T. Whitaker, of the *Chicago Daily News*.²

Nationalism is merely one factor making for disunity in Latin America. Social and economic inequalities also have kept the continent in turmoil: civil warfare has racked each nation in turn, and revolution is the accepted mechanism for political change. On March 19, 1822, when the Congress of the United States recognized their independence, there were only eight Latin American nations. Uruguay was destined to six years more of Spanish rule; Cuba, to seventy-five. The other ten were to result from this unceasing civil warfare, from conflicts much like that now simmering in Mexico, where the Rightist General Almazan, charging that he was counted out in the recent presidential election, threatens insurrection.

Latin America was never really without internal strife, even during the years of the struggle for independence. Antagonisms existed then, as they exist now. If the Latin Americans managed to suppress them, more or less, in the face of the common enemy, the reason perhaps is the same as that which kept the American Colonists from leaping at each other's throats: "We must all hang together, or else we shall all hang separately." Nor did independence at once remove the unifying influence of danger from

¹ Duncan Aikman, *The All-American Front*, Doubleday, Doran and Company, New York, 1940.

² John T. Whitaker, *Americas to the South*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1940.

without. In Europe, Czar Alexander, convinced that democracy anywhere threatened monarchy everywhere, and leagued with the reactionary forces of Austria, France, and Prussia in the so-called Holy Alliance, was determined to restore Spain and Spain's former colonies to monarchical rule. His resolution alarmed the infant Latin American governments, as well it might. The United States also was alarmed, for many of this country's leading statesmen (for example, Henry Clay) had long contended that an independent Latin America was essential to our national defense. It was largely this conviction which had motivated Congress to recognize the Latin American governments in the first place. North and South, the Americas moved swiftly. On December 2, 1823 James Monroe enunciated his now-famous doctrine: not only did he warn the Holy Alliance that armed invasion of Latin America would constitute an unfriendly act, which this government would resist with force if necessary; equally important, he cautioned that we should consider any future effort on their part to extend their system of government "to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." Two years later, the Congress of Panama convened. Although our delegates never did arrive, it was—in spirit, at least—the first Pan American conference, progenitor of the Lima conference of 1938, the Havana conference of 1940.

European Alliance

The past six years have seen the rise of another powerful alliance in Europe whose system of government (to quote the words of the Monroe Doctrine) is "essentially different . . . from that of America." This alliance usually is called the Axis, though some Americans, convinced that history is repeating itself, prefer the name, Unholy Alliance, in memory of that earlier league whose machinations inspired President Monroe to speak out so forcefully. The system of government which it represents is Fascism, as that of the Holy Alliance was monarchy. Once again the U. S. Government is determined not "to suffer Europe to meddle in cis-Atlantic affairs." (The phrase is Thomas Jefferson's.) It has undertaken to prevent the Axis Powers from extending their influence to any portion of this hemisphere, either through

armed conquest or through propaganda, economic pressure, and political conspiracy. The assumption is that of James Monroe, that such action would endanger "our peace and safety."

The difficulties which face the United States in carrying out this policy are essentially different from those of 1823, however. The chief weapon of the Holy Alliance was armed force: to Adolf Hitler, armed force is merely the last resort; he employs it only when propaganda and economic aggression have failed, or when they have so weakened his enemy that his armies have only to walk across the frontier. Equally striking is the change which has taken place in the attitude of the Latin Americans. In 1823, much as they might differ among themselves, they were united in considering the United States their first, and only real friend: they welcomed the Monroe Doctrine as the charter of their independence.

"Yanqui Imperialism"

Since President Monroe's day many Latin Americans have come to consider the United States their worst enemy, the Monroe Doctrine as merely an excuse for economic and military aggression. They contend that "*Yanqui imperialism*" menaces Latin America far more than Germany does. So claimed the Uruguayan Senate when, on November 22, it refused to approve the construction of ships and bases for the ships and planes of the U. S. Navy.³

Fear of "*Yanqui imperialism*" also infects Mexico.⁴ When vice-president elect Henry A. Wallace was sent as the United States government representative to attend the inauguration of Avila Comacho, his coming precipitated an anti-"*Yanqui*" demonstration by the Almazanistas, Mexico's opposition party. If the United States had supported Almazan instead of Comacho, chances are that the Comachistas would have staged a similar demonstration, for only the party out of power can afford to express its distrust of the powerful, northern neighbor. Widespread animosity toward the United States, however, dates back at least as far as the Mexican war, and citizens of that country are constantly reminded that our army once "invaded" Mexico. In memory of the 14, 15, and 16-year-old military cadets who died defending

³ New York Post, November 22, 1940.

⁴ Richard Boyer, PM, November 22, 1940.

Chapultepec Hill against U. S. armed forces, a monument has been erected in Mexico City. Of significance is the fact that Mr. Wallace placed a wreath at its base during his recent visit south.

Some commentators, although they admit that antagonism toward Uncle Sam continues to exist in Latin America, nevertheless insist that events of the past two or three years have done much to weaken it. Clark Foreman and Joan Raushenbush credit the Good Neighbor policy for this development.⁵ Carlos Davila, former president of Chile, reports an ever-growing awareness throughout Latin America that Germany, Italy, Japan, and Spain would swallow them up overnight were it not for the United States. For the first time in 100 years, that is, for the first time since the Holy Alliance, the United States again is popular in Latin America, he says.⁶ Nevertheless, even he concedes the existence of powerful anti-North American sentiment.

Nationalism and Envy

The reasons for this sentiment are many and varied. Nationalism is one; envy, another. The Monroe Doctrine made the Latin Americans independent of Europe. It did not make them independent of the United States. Quite the contrary, the Monroe Doctrine *assumes* their dependence. On more occasions than one, the Argentine has opposed the wishes of the United States merely to demonstrate that it didn't take orders from anyone,⁷ including Uncle Sam. Mexicans react similarly:⁸ their realization of the protection which the Monroe Doctrine affords them, makes them resent the United States.

Somewhat more pertinent to any understanding of Latin America's change in attitude from adoration to suspicion is the fact—and on this all commentators, North and South, radical and conservative, agree—that we frequently have used the Monroe Doctrine to justify actions which those who opposed them would call "Imperialistic." The U. S. Marines, as Mr. Whitaker points out,⁹ have occupied as many

as six Latin American countries at one time. Mr. Whitaker, himself, although he opposes such intervention, nevertheless considers "American imperialism" less vicious than any of the European imperialisms. That is the middle-of-the-road position. On the Left are critics like Ernest Gruening, who draw no such distinctions; on the Right is Evelyn Waugh, an English conservative, and frankly so. Mr. Waugh does not condemn armed intervention to defend private investments as "imperialism." He favors such action. He condemns the United States for not having intervened often enough, and for not having intervened more forcefully.¹⁰

Totalitarian propaganda is fundamentally different from democratic propaganda. It does not seek primarily to convince. The Fascist propagandist is more concerned with dividing the opposition, for once the enemy is fighting himself, the highly-organized Fascist minority can easily take advantage of the resulting chaos to seize control. "This was Hitler's technique within Germany in 1931 and 1932; it was likewise his technique in England and France during the pre-Munich years when he was devouring Central Europe almost without resistance."¹¹

Tension Aggravated

The propagandists cannot however create the distrust and dissension from thin air: they can only aggravate already existing tensions. In Germany they exploited religious antagonisms, whipping faint anti-Semitic feelings into violent hatred through gigantic untruths: the result was to set religion against religion. They also exploited class antagonisms: the resentment of the employer against the union, the union against the employer, the shopkeeper against the chain store, the business man against the banker. The result was class warfare. Such propaganda is always illogical and inconsistent: the Fascist propagandist must say one thing when he speaks to an industrialist, and exactly the opposite when he makes his appeal to shopkeepers. Neither logic nor consistency is necessary, for the propagandist wants merely to inflame. He wants to drive people into fury

⁵ Clark Foreman and Joan Raushenbush, *Total Defense*, Doubleday, Doran, and Company, New York, 1940.

⁶ *PM*, November 22, 1940.

⁷ *The All American Front*.

⁸ Frank L. Kluckhohn, *The Mexican Challenge*, Doubleday, Doran and Company, New York, 1939.

⁹ *Op. Cit.*

¹⁰ Evelyn Waugh, *Mexico: An Object Lesson*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1939.

¹¹ Harold Lavine and James Wechsler, *War Propaganda and the United States*, published for the Institute for Propaganda Analysis by the Yale University Press, New Haven, 1940.

against their neighbors over real or fancied grievances.

The Fascist propagandist takes his latent antagonisms where he finds them. During the pre-Munich years Adolf Hitler so encouraged the anti-Communist sentiments of conservatives in England and France that fear, suspicion, and mistrust stymied all negotiations for joint action with the Soviet Union to "stop Hitlerism." After Munich had served to half-convince Stalin that England and France were potential enemies, not potential friends, the Reichsfuehrer switched his tactics, striving to fan the Soviet dictator's apprehension into conviction. The war came. For nine months the German propagandists occupied themselves, first, with getting the Allies to fight among themselves; second, with creating dissension in the ranks of the French army. The enlisted men were encouraged to suspect their officers of Fascist leanings; the officers, to suspect their men of Communist sympathies.

Grist for Fascist Mill

Thus, any dissension is grist for the Fascist propagandist's mill, and he finds grist aplenty in Latin America. Nor do the Fascists rely on propaganda alone to whip sleeping antagonisms into open conflict: they co-ordinate their propaganda efforts with economic pressure, armed force, and threat of force. This co-ordination is the secret of their success, just as co-ordination of every arm of the service into one, flawless machine is the genius of the German army. The pattern is somewhat as follows: representatives of German industries will call upon an editor to warn him that, unless he uses Transocean News Service, they may cancel their advertising. Such threats usually don't work in the United States where newspapers are rich and powerful: in Latin America, however, newspapers live from hand-to-mouth. People like the Nicaraguans, whose annual income averages \$50, or like the Chileans, who average \$80 annually, cannot afford to purchase newspapers regularly;¹² in nations so poverty-stricken, advertising is also limited. The result is that many Latin American editors simply cannot afford to lose their German advertising: they do what they are told.

Some editors, of course, refuse. Only the other

¹² *Total Defense*.

day, for example, Guillermo Gutierrez, director of the La Paz newspaper *Razon*, told reporters upon his arrival in New York that, despite continued German and Italian pressure, he was holding fast to his pro-democratic and pro-American policies.¹³ He said, however, that an overwhelming majority of the other newspapers in Bolivia and nearly all the radio stations had already given way to Fascist threats and were now using Transocean News and Stefani, the Italian news service. Not only were the Fascists removing their own advertising from his newspaper, Señor Gutierrez reported; they had induced several native concerns to act similarly. He told of the old friend of his father who came to his newspaper office frequently to urge that he change his editorial policy. "Finally he came in one day and said: 'I can't stand it any longer. All my German friends demand how I dare publish my advertising in your paper.' "

As economic pressure opens the way to propaganda, so does propaganda in turn help the Fascists to achieve economic, political, and even military ends. The newspapers under Fascist domination may agitate for trade agreements with the Axis Powers, or against trade agreements with the United States; they may oppose American proposals for hemisphere defense, arguing that such proposals are designed to undermine the integrity of the Latin American governments; or they may pick quarrels with neighboring countries, thereby disrupting this nation's efforts toward Pan American co-operation.

Imperialism Emphasized

Just now newspaper emphasis is upon assigning imperialistic motives to America's defense program. For example, the Argentine newspaper *El Pampero*, which, according to Ray Josephs, of the newspaper *PM*, sets the pattern for the pro-Nazi press throughout South America,¹⁴ recently charged that F.D.R.'s final aim is "continental domination and international militarism." Although for strategic reasons the President made no mention of this during his campaign for re-election, he will speak out soon, *El Pampero* said, and reveal his plans "in all their intensity."

Meanwhile the violently anti-Semitic *Crisol*

¹³ *New York Times*, November 10, 1940.

¹⁴ *PM*, November 8, 1940.

reports that F.D.R. plans to compel the Argentine to purchase munitions from the United States, and this, it says, will eventually give the U.S.A. control of the Argentine army. Still another pro-German newspaper in the Argentine deposes: "Mr. Willkie represented the healthy popular reaction against the growing militarism of Roosevelt and the clique in the East which is the least national zone in that enormous country."

Trouble in Brazil

At times in the past the pro-Nazi Argentine press has attempted to stir up trouble with Brazil. Among the national antagonisms to which this issue of *Propaganda Analysis* referred earlier few are more virulent than Brazil's rivalry with the Argentine. Duncan Aikman¹⁵ tells of the Brazilian diplomat who scolded him because several U. S. army officers were then visiting the Argentine. "Do you realize what you are doing?" he asked " . . . You are forsaking the Brazilians, your best friends in Latin America . . . and training our enemies in Buenos Aires to bomb our cities." Nor would he listen to Mr. Aikman's explanation that Washington had previously sent naval and coast-artillery missions to Rio de Janeiro, and therefore could not be accused of playing favorites. The Argentine feels exactly the same way toward Brazil. Consequently, in 1938, when Brazil asked for the lease of several U. S. destroyers and Secretary of State Cordell Hull agreed, the pro-Nazi Argentine press shouted that Uncle Sam was helping Brazil to prepare for war against them. Others in the Argentine took up the cry, and so loudly did they clamor that Mr. Hull changed his mind.

The same thing has occurred in other countries. Take Guatemala, for example. Guatemala, in common with several of the other nations of Central America, hates and fears the Republic of Mexico. The reason is two-fold: first, Guatemala is afraid that Mexico harbors imperialistic ambitions; second, an oldstyle Latin American despotism, itself, Guatemala is apprehensive lest the Left-wing ideology which has infected Mexico spread across the frontier. German propaganda is designed to encourage these hatreds and fears. Yet in other Latin American countries the Nazis echo the Left-wing cry for

¹⁵ *Op. Cit.*

expropriation of American investments, denouncing "economic imperialism."

Sometimes the divisive propaganda of the Fascists is Machiavellian. An example is the campaign against the Fifth Column in Uruguay. It was not the Germans who started the campaign: the inspiration came from partisans of the Allies. For nine months, the pro-Fascist Uruguayan Congress ignored their clamor. Then in May the Germans decided to create an incident which might divert the attention of the United States from Europe: they were preparing their invasion of the Low Countries. At their urging, the Uruguayan Congress suddenly took cognizance of the information concerning Fifth Column activities which the Allied partisans had uncovered, and started an investigation, which received much attention in the U. S. press. After the capitulation of France, when the investigation's usefulness to Germany ended, so did the investigation. The incident produced no arrests, widened the rift in Uruguayan politics, annoyed Brazil, and irritated the Argentine, for it attracted several unscheduled U. S. Naval visits, which the sensitive Argentine considered detrimental to its prestige.¹⁶

Propaganda In Reverse

At other times, Fascist propaganda has worked in reverse. This is especially true of racist propaganda. Although the whites predominate in some Latin American countries, in others Indians and *mestizos* control the government. Among the latter is Brazil, where Indians, Negroes, and whites have intermarried freely, and where there is therefore no racial feeling. One cannot revile non-Aryans without reviling nearly every member of the Brazilian government. For nearly every member has some Negro or Indian blood. Consequently, German racist propaganda in Brazil has backfired, creating only resentment. It has also backfired in Guatemala, once the headquarters for German propaganda throughout Mexico and Central America. President Jorge Ubico, of Guatemala, is part Indian.¹⁷

Of course, the most divisive propaganda of all is anti-Semitism. Throughout Latin America the Fascists are now making great efforts to

¹⁶ *The Hemisphere*, August 9, 1940.

¹⁷ *The Hemisphere*, July 19, 1940.

whip up sentiment against the Jews, much as they did in Germany. Again, the propaganda efforts are co-ordinated with economic measures. Just as the Fascists apply economic pressure to compel newspapers to use Transocean, so have they applied economic pressure to compel Latin American concerns to dismiss Jewish employees. Their purpose is, seemingly, to project the "Jewish question" into the popular consciousness. Such action creates discussion and accentuates dissention. The Fascist-minded press defends it with virulent anti-Jewish articles. Sentiment for creates sentiment against. The more violent grow the anti-Semitic attacks, the more violent grow the rejoinders. Tempers rise, and conflicts ensue.

Argentine Anti-Semitism

This anti-Jewish propaganda seems especially widespread in the Argentine, where, in addition to *Crisol*, the Nazis control the weekly *Clarín* and partially subsidize eight daily newspapers. They also own several German-language newspapers there, including the *Deutsch La Plata Zeitung*; and they are said to smuggle hundreds of thousands of copies of *Der Stürmer* and *Der Schwartz Korps* in German and in Spanish translation into the country every year.¹⁸ In Brazil the Fascists likewise control several newspapers. The Germans have recently purchased stock in *Alba Editora*; according to reports, they intend to make it their chief propaganda organ.¹⁹ According to other reports, Transocean News Service has purchased three additional newspapers: *A Tarde*, *Neio Dia*, and *Gazeta de Noticias*. More and more dailies are using Transocean, including the influential *Jornal do Brasil*. At the same time, Italian and Japanese propagandists are growing increasingly active. Stefani has just received official permission to operate in the country; the Japanese agency, Domei, is seeking the same privilege. The Japanese newspaper *Brasil Asahi*, of San Paulo, which suspended publication some time ago, has now been re-opened.

Threats of economic reprisal and outright purchase of newspapers are only two of the means whereby the Germans have managed to gain access to many of the channels of communication in Latin America. There is an-

other: subsidy. The U. S. news services which sell to Latin American papers and radio stations are costly, for neither the Associated Press nor the United Press is eager to lose money. Transocean doesn't care about losing money, and sells its services for very little. There are even reports that it *pays* newspapers and radio stations to use its service: *Radio Ipanema*, of Brazil, is said to receive \$1,000 weekly. Impoverished Latin American newspapers, much as they may prefer to purchase the A.P. or U.P. service, cannot afford to; and because they must print foreign news, they print Transocean.²⁰

Although the main emphasis of Fascist propaganda is upon creating dissension, the Axis does not overlook any chance to make friends. None of the Latin American nations is totalitarian in the German sense of the word: on the other hand, few of them are democratic as most Americans understand democracy. The majority are old-fashioned dictatorships; the overwhelming majority of whose people live in poverty and have no voice in the government.²¹ The ruling classes do not encourage the spread of democratic ideas: they are not without sympathy for Hitler and Mussolini. The Germans and Italians encourage this sympathy, and here again they co-ordinate their propaganda with economic measures. The Axis Powers, for example, will make it easy for Latin American governments to purchase armaments from them. Perhaps they will give them discounts; perhaps they will grant long-term credits. After delivering the armaments the Fascists will send officers to show the Latin Americans how to use them. Or else they will invite Latin American military leaders to visit Germany and Italy and receive technical instruction there.

Fascist-Trained Armies

The result is that most of the armies of Latin America use German and Italian equipment, are trained along German and Italian lines in the German and Italian military traditions, and have close military ties with the Fascist powers. The result is two-fold: since friendship creates sympathy, many Latin American officers sympathize with German and Italian military aspirations; at the same time, Germany's economic position in Latin America is strength-

¹⁸ *Americas to the South*.

¹⁹ *The Hemisphere*, August 16, 1940.

²⁰ *New York Post*, October 7, 1940.

²¹ *The All American Front*

ened, for nations which have once purchased Fascist munitions will continue to purchase them if they can, since they may otherwise have to retrain their army technicians. It goes without saying that Germany and Italy use their strengthened economic position to carry on more propaganda.

Until the war, the Axis Powers also made it easy for Latin Americans to visit Germany and Italy. The Reich, for example, offered Chileans round-trip passage and forty days in Germany with all hotel and food bills paid for approximately \$400, much less than steamship fare to New York. For slightly more, Chilean students could have one year's schooling in Germany.

Spain Assumes Lead

More recently, however, Spain has assumed the lead in Axis efforts to gain friendship and sympathy in Latin America. Sixteen months ago, in "Spain: A Case Study," *Propaganda Analysis* said: "It may be that we can expect the Fascist powers to repeat in South America what they have already done in Spain. Most of the nations of South America were originally Spanish, the people on the whole are Spanish-speaking; they are Catholics, too." It was suggested that Germany and Italy might use their Spanish captive government as the spearhead of their drive on Latin America. This prediction apparently is coming true. According to Richard Boyer,²² "the only dangerous Fifth Column element in Mexico" are the *Falangists*, who "have their origin in Franco Spain and call for cultural union of Latin America under the hegemony of Fascist Spain." One day after Mr. Boyer's story appeared, Saville R. Davis, of the *Christian Science Monitor*, reported from Rome: "Under the expert guidance of the German Propaganda Ministry, Nationalist Spain's program for assuming political leadership in Hispanic America is passing today from generalized claims into the phase of purposeful organization." Directing this program, said Mr. Davis, is the newly-formed Council of Hispanicism, which hopes to create "another golden age for Spain" by organizing "press, radio, and diplomatic propaganda as well as the political, economic, and cultural fronts, by forming local organizations among the expatriate friends of Nationalist Spain throughout the

²² *PM*, November 7, 1940.

Americas, by enlarging their numbers . . . and by exchanging students and professors to combat the effective counter propaganda of numerous Republican Spanish exiles in the Americas."

Already several newspapers have come under the influence of *Falangist* groups. *La Tribuna*, the second largest daily in Costa Rica, has opened its columns to Saenz del Castillo and Juan Navarrete, two propagandists newly-arrived from Spain. The former is also connected with the provincial Catholic newspaper *La Epoca*, which is owned by three Dominican friars. This, says *The Hemisphere*,²³ gives him virtual immunity to carry on his propaganda.

Thus far the United States has done little on the propaganda front to meet the Axis challenge. Until quite recently only the radio chains made any real effort to interpret the United States to Latin America: the Government, itself, has done almost nothing, although plans are now under way to remedy this situation. The failure of the Government to act more quickly seems to have proceeded from the assumption, quite common in the United States, that propaganda is something evil, and that engaging in propaganda would therefore demean us. Even State Department officials with first-hand knowledge of the activities of Fascist propagandists to disrupt Pan American relations adopted this attitude in discussing the question with an Institute reporter last summer.

Radio Stations Beamed South

There are thirteen short-wave radio stations in all engaged in broadcasting to Latin America. Two are operated by the National Broadcasting Company; two by the Columbia Broadcasting System. Others engaged in broadcasting to Latin America include the General Electric Company, World Wide, and Crossley. The stations all concentrate on news programs, which seemingly are quite popular among those who hear them. No effort is made to color the news. They seem anxious to impress their Latin American listeners with their love of truth, quote all sides, and never fail to give their sources. In discussing their activities with an Institute reporter they were especially proud of letters from Latin America commenting on their lack of bias.

The propaganda comes in their selection of

²³ October 11, 1940.

the news. Thus NBC steers clear of gangster stories, lynchings, and scandals. It wishes to dissociate the United States from Hollywood stereotypes in the Latin American mind, and make this country instead the symbol of culture and neighborliness. Stories concerning U. S. foreign policy are given special emphasis: for example, every time President Roosevelt or Secretary Hull speaks on foreign policy, NBC broadcasts and re-broadcasts the entire text in Spanish and in Portuguese.

Cultural programs also have an important place on the schedules of the short-wave stations. They are designed to convince Latin Americans that North Americans do respect culture, in spite of what the Axis propagandists say. For sheer entertainment, however, the Latin Americans seem to prefer Hollywood chit-chat and blow-by-blow accounts of prize fights. At least, that is what their letters would seem to indicate.

Fascists Have Upper Hand

Since the audience for short-wave broadcasts is comparatively limited, the Fascists still have the upper hand in this radio war of words: they long ago made arrangements with local stations throughout Latin America to re-broadcast their programs on the regular wave lengths. NBC recently completed similar arrangements, which go into effect on January 1, however, and there are reports that Latin American stations may soon re-broadcast CBS programs, too.

The Town Hall of the Air recently discussed the Good Neighbor policy in the broadcast, "How Should We Meet Totalitarian Aggression in the Americas?" Two of the speakers, Carlos Davila and A. A. Berle, felt that all the governments actually were striving for, and making headway toward, hemisphere cooperation. H. V. Kaltenborn, however, pointed out that it was necessary to recognize the difficulties involved in cementing good will among the American nations.

Even before the United States was faced with the emergent problem of hemisphere defense, the Committee for Cultural Relations with Latin America and the Committee on Cooperation with Latin America were striving for a better understanding among the western nations. The former has been, and still is, arranging seminars to discuss common American prob-

lems, student exchanges among the various countries, and social gatherings to better acquaint the peoples of the United States with their neighbors. The latter acts as a clearing house for about thirty protestant mission boards which have worked in Latin America. Projects carried out by these boards include the building of schools patterned after those in the United States. The instructors are either citizens of this country or Latin Americans educated here.

The first Government attempt to improve relations with Latin America was made two years ago when the Division of Cultural Relations was established under the guidance of the State Department. Its activities were hampered from the first by admonitions that it must not engage in propaganda. "There resulted a situation similar to that of the well-known lass who was urged to hang her clothes on the hickory tree but not go near the water," says Lewis Hanke.²⁴ "For the division was set up in a political department of the Government and was designed to serve a political purpose. Yet the Division found itself hedged in at every turn by prohibitions; there were so many activities it could *not* engage in." Moreover, says Mr. Hanke, the Division was hampered by lack of funds.

Lack of funds also hamstrung another Government attempt: the Interdepartmental Committee on Co-operation with the American Republics, which had an imposing title but an infinitesimal budget.

The Rockefeller Committee

The latest move is the establishment of the Office for Co-ordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics, with Nelson D. Rockefeller as the guiding spirit. The very name of the Committee indicates Government recognition of the necessity to co-ordinate propaganda with economic action—though not as the Fascists do, through bribery and force. The economic action which Mr. Rockefeller has in mind contemplates measures that would raise the standard of living in Latin America, thereby creating good will and reacting "favorably on American trade."

Liberals have expressed concern over the fu-

²⁴ Lewis Hanke, "Plain Speaking About Latin America," *Harper's Magazine*, November, 1940.

ture of the Committee, however, charging that all Mr. Rockefeller's aides represent the conservative point of view toward Latin America. These aides include Dr. Henry A. Moe, Guggenheim Foundation secretary; Karl A. Bickel, former head of the United Press; John Hay Whitney; Dr. Robert G. Caldwell, former minister to Portugal and Bolivia; Don Francisco, president of Lord and Thomas; James W. Young, formerly with J. Walter Thompson; William Benton, formerly with Benton and Bowles; and Henry Luce, of Time, Inc. The liberal critics say that none of these men is acquainted with the labor and progressive movements in Latin America, that none of them sympathizes with these movements. They express the fear that whatever action the committee takes will serve to bolster the conservative forces in Latin America, thus convincing such groups as the Popular Front, which now governs Chile, and the P. R. M., which governs Mexico, that Uncle Sam is the same old "*Yanqui* imperialist," operating the same old game of "Dollar Diplomacy," though under the new Glittering Generality, the Good Neighbor.

The only publicized accomplishment of the committee to date throws no light on this question. It was made by Mr. Whitney. As director of the committee's motion picture efforts, he recently persuaded Hollywood producers to stop giving their screen gigolos Argentine nationality.

NOTE

In the November bulletin, "Polls, Propaganda, and Democracy," the Institute stated that Dr. George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion had not revealed whether the public approved or disapproved of Father Charles E. Coughlin and had not sampled newspaper readers to determine favorable and unfavorable attitudes toward the press. Actually, in January 1939, Dr. Gallup published a survey on the number of listeners to the Coughlin broadcasts and the percentage of persons who approved and disapproved the Priest's statements. In October 1938 a Gallup survey revealed that 73 out of every 100 newspaper readers believed that the papers they read were unfair to the Roosevelt administration.

Propaganda Analysis Guide

UNCLE SAM'S PROBLEM

THE propaganda of the United States in the Western Hemisphere is designed to build up a society of nations, to create a community of interests and a communal feeling between the 265 million peoples of this hemisphere. This, the goal, is best described in the word, Pan American.

Axis propaganda is designed to do exactly the opposite: to break down any feeling of community of interests, to prevent any society of peoples from developing in the Western Hemisphere.

Now, propaganda to be effective must be realistic: it must deal with facts and with actual conditions. For example, the United States in its role of propagandist cannot conjure up unity of the Americas out of thin air. Our propagandas must work through, and upon, factors or conditions making for unity. Conversely, the

propaganda of the Axis powers settles upon dissensions, with the purpose of aggravating conflicts which already exist.

In this war of propagandas between the United States and the Axis (Germany, Italy, Japan, and Spain) we have a contest: can the United States build up common interests and bonds more quickly, and more firmly, than these can be torn down by the Axis? Led by Germany, counter propagandists are intent upon widening differences, emphasizing and creating conflicts of interests, and arousing new antagonisms.

This propaganda combat is being waged not only in Mexico and the Central and South American countries; it is going on in the United States itself. Serving to dramatize this conflict at home were the cries for national unity, heard on all sides after the recent Presidential election. These cries testified to the recognition that just as a Western Hemisphere divided

would be an easy prey to Axis intrigue, so would a United States divided be easy prey.

THINKING THROUGH THE PROBLEM . . .

I. PROPAGANDA FOR DISUNITY

In South America:

What factors do you, in your study of the Argentine, Brazil, Venezuela, and the other countries "South of the Border," find to be disruptive, making for disunity between the Americas, North and South?

Remember, propagandas of disunity feed upon discontents, upon old grudges, upon economic, social, and political conflicts. What do you consider are the more grave dissensions at the present time? Can you trace their origins and growth? Cite examples of Axis propagandas of disunity directed at, and through, existing differences.

In North America:

What conditions exist, similarly, in the United States which are food for propagandists of disunity, Axis inspired, or other? What large groupings of people—religious or cultural or racial—for one reason or another are ripe material for divisive propagandas? (Examples: anti-Catholic feeling in the South or Mid-West; anti-Jewish sentiment in the large industrial cities of the East; anti-labor action on the West Coast.)

II. PROPAGANDA FOR UNITY

Following lines of inquiry begun, seek out in both the South and North American scenes those elements, those facts and situations *at this point in the world's history*, which make for unity. Which mutualities exist between the national interests of Mexico and the South American countries and the United States? What similarities are there among the peoples, their desires and their needs and their fears?

III. ACTION, THE BASIS

As *Propaganda Analysis* has pointed out, oftentimes action is the most effective propaganda. When there are few factors making for unity (or disunity) the propagandist must attempt to create them. In other words, to do effective propaganda for unity between North and South America the United States must find

or create some points of actual mutual interest.

In the United States, for example, the concept, all men are created equal, with equal rights, equal opportunities, et cetera, has had tremendous cohesive power. However, in sections of the country where this concept is not true no amount of propaganda (saying over and over, for example, that "all men are created equal") can make people there believe it true. Witness: the migratory workers in California; the sharecroppers in the South; the unemployed in the slum areas of large Eastern cities—all potential, or actual, disaffected elements.

Consider: (1) what actions, *preceding* propaganda for such a concept, "all men are created equal," would make these people ready for the propaganda, ready to believe in the concept, and act accordingly? (2) Consider also: what acts have given reality to the "Good Neighbor" concept in this hemisphere, and to the United States' propagandas for acceptance of that concept in Latin American countries?

Suggest actions and attendant propagandas which would further Latin American belief that "United We Stand, Divided We Fall."

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211 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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The Institute does not have all the answers: it lays no claim to infallibility. It will try to be scientific, objective and accurate. If it makes mistakes, it will acknowledge them. It asks those who receive its bulletins to check its work.

IV. PROPAGANDA THESIS

Any society has within it conflicts; nor can all conflicts ever be eliminated. Effective propagandists for hemisphere unity must, *first*, make the similarities more important than the differences, the common interests more important than the conflict of interests. Once this is done, the job of the propagandist must be to make people *aware* of the importance of their common interests and ties.

The pattern of hemisphere relations both as to diplomacy and propaganda is, in effect:

First, action

Second, propaganda

The action creates the unity of interest. The propaganda makes people aware of this unity. The propaganda will be ineffective unless there is the fact of unity, but the fact of unity alone does not suffice: people must be aware of the fact.

In discussion: can you think of any experiences you have had which illustrate this principle?

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Religious Propaganda Against the War

WHEN World War II began in the late summer of 1939, many Protestant and Catholic clergymen, as in World War I, resorted to the Transfer Device, familiar to all students of propaganda, to carry the prestige, sanction, and authority of God to the German, French, and British causes. How clergymen in Europe were utilizing propaganda to give God's sanction to the war aims of belligerent nations was set forth by the Institute in its April, 1940, bulletin, entitled, "Soldiers of the Lord."¹

As indicated in that bulletin, many churches and church leaders in America, since the close of the first World War, had been identified with a strong anti-war movement. The *World Tomorrow*, in May, 1931, gave the results of a questionnaire distributed to 53,000 clergymen over the United States. There were 19,372 replies and of these 10,427, or 54 per cent, stated that it was their "present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant."

But with Europe again at Armageddon, would such resolutions of American church groups, made in days of peace, be kept in days of war? The bulletin appraised the outlook in April, 1940, by stating, "... forces are again at work to bring the United States into the conflict. So far the churches of the country have stood firmly against any participation and have preached the gospel of peace. However, there are signs that many of the clergy in this country are beginning to change their minds about war. Their number is increasing. . . ."

Evidence was cited to indicate similarities to the days of 1914-17 in which the vast majority of the American clergy gradually came to the point of blessing our participation in the war. It revealed briefly just what the war propaganda pattern of many churches was in the World War and cited some current parallels.

Numerous clergymen protested that the Institute was unjust to imply that, once again, many of their clergy would sanction war.

Then in May Hitler's mighty war machine swept over the Low Countries and into France. How could England possibly hold out? As in the first World War, England was seen by many editors, college presidents, business men, and ministers as "America's first line of defense." Wendell L. Willkie and Franklin D. Roosevelt ran for the presidency, each promising all "Aid-to-Britain, short of war," in order to defend America.

Hitler's victories, as events, comprised propaganda to give to millions of Americans a sense of imminent peril. This feeling made easily effective the war preparedness propaganda of the William Allen White Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Congress voted billions for defense, and approved peace-time conscription. The President put through the deal to give England fifty American destroyers.

As government officials, newspaper editors, industrialists, and educators pleaded for national defense, with Aid-to-Britain as a chief item, so too churches and religious leaders proclaimed God's blessing on America's common cause with England.

¹ *Propaganda Analysis*, Vol. III, No. 7.

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By January, 1941, with the Gallup polls showing a rise in the Aid-to-Britain sentiment,² many of the clergy, as innumerable news accounts of Sunday sermons show, were transferring the sanction of God to America's program of defense against Hitler. Some, like Bishop William T. Manning of New York, seemed ready to give their blessing to a declaration of war against Germany.

Although many Christian clergymen are propagandists for war or national defense even at risk of war, there are intense and persistent Christian propagandists against American participation in this war, against making common cause with Britain, against war in general. It is the purpose of this bulletin to analyze anti-war propaganda in church groups, as it was the purpose of our April bulletin to analyze war propaganda.

Christian Ideals in Conflict

Traditions within the Christian churches, with respect to war and peace, are varied and conflicting.

The Jesus who laid violent and indignant hands on the money-changers in the temple was the same Jesus who preached a gospel of love, who rejected the Jewish tradition that the Messiah would be a warrior and who disappointed many of his followers because he refused to lead a revolt against the rule of the Romans. The Jesus who preached the justice of hell's damnation for scribes, Pharisees, rich men, and hypocrites was the same Jesus who prayed for those who crucified him: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Very strong in the early primitive Christian Church was the sentiment of non-resistance based on Jesus' teachings: Love your enemies; turn the other cheek. Many of the early Church fathers expressed this pacifist sentiment. Origen, for example, wrote in the third century, "We (Christians) no longer take up sword against nation, nor do we learn war any more . . . for the sake of Jesus who is our leader." C. F. Cadoux, authority on early Christianity, credits Adolf Harnack's *Militia Christi* with the statement: "The Christian ethic for-

² Ninety per cent of the people favored more aid to Britain; 60 per cent said it was more important to help Britain than concentrate on "keeping out" of the war, and 12 per cent would vote for war entrance immediately. *Newsweek*, Jan. 6, 1941.

bade war absolutely to the Christians."

However, under Constantine, Christianity became the religion of the State, and the Church gradually changed its philosophy with respect to war. It began to persecute other sects. It began to give its blessing to the military power of the State.

None the less, the early Christian ethic which forbade war has been kept alive. It is perhaps best represented in the historic teachings of the Quakers, the Mennonites, and the Church of the Brethren.³

The American Friends Service Committee declares:

Far back through the centuries there have been those who have found themselves unable to take the lives of their fellow men either in order to forward their own advantage or at the command of any external authority. Prominent among their motives have been religious concepts, based on an awareness of God and an acceptance of the brotherhood of man. To Christians, Jesus Christ has interpreted a way of life based on love of God and man, and the idea of overcoming evil with good. In the light of his awareness of God and his high sense of loyalty to Jesus, the Christian pacifist forms a judgment as to whether war is a proper and effective instrument for man to use in gaining his ends. His judgment is that it is not. This judgment is shared by most of mankind up to the time when, gripped by fear or hatred or greed, they embrace the war method. The pacifist maintains these beliefs even in the face of war, threatened aggression or other evils.⁴

Eminent Pacifist Spokesmen

Outside of the Quaker and Mennonite folds, following their pacifist line, and, by propaganda, seeking to persuade others to follow it, are hundreds of American clergymen. Some of them, like Ralph Sockman, Allan Knight Chalmers, John Haynes Holmes, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Kirby Page, Ernest Fremont Tittle, Robert W. Searle, Halford E. Luccock, and George Buttrick, are national figures. Numerically, they comprise but a small minority of American clergymen. Although their effectiveness as propagandists is limited by the disinclination of many newspapers and radio stations to disseminate pacifist views, they reach

³ Jehovah's Witnesses is also considered a pacifist sect. Actually, the Witnesses are not strictly pacifist even though they refuse to fight in any war now being waged. After the second coming of Christ, they plan to fight a bloody battle, with Him as their leader, against the Host of Evil.

⁴ "Why They Cannot Go to War," the American Friends Service Committee, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Philadelphia, 1940.

large and influential groups by sermons, conferences, and peace meetings.

Pacifism, however, represents but *one* of the Christian attitudes toward war. Most Christians accept the tradition that stems from St. Augustine, who believed the State to be morally obligated to protect its citizens against attack from other nations. He also sanctioned punitive wars fought for the restoration of justice. In other words, to most Christians, there is such a thing as a thoroughly *just* war. To such a war, or to preparation for it, clergymen holding this view are giving their sanction and that of God.

A third view, held by the Lutherans, is that of the divine right of States: when the State declares war the individual should bow to the collective will.

Is This War "Just"?

Finally, there is the view of the liberal who believes in the final triumph of human reason over violence. He is apt to stress, however, an international police force to maintain order among the nations. He also believes in "just" wars. The father of this school of thought is Hugo Grotius who was a staunch advocate of international law.⁵ Rev. Frank Kingdon, Methodist, British-born, now an executive of the New York chapter of the William Allen White Committee, sees the present war against Hitler as "just," and propagandizes accordingly.

Also a believer in "just" wars is Rev. Harry F. Ward, Methodist, British-born, of the Union Theological Seminary and secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. Rev. Ward preaches world-wide socialization, has long been friendly to the Soviet Union. The present war, he holds, is not "just," but "a war fought by a Peoples Army, with the common objective of defending and extending the democratic rights of all," would be quite a different thing.

If we help England to win, declares Rev. Ward, we will still have to reckon with her industrial leaders who, a few weeks before Munich, met with German industrial leaders to divide the South American market between them at America's expense. Rev. Ward's view with respect to this war is stated in his recent book, *Democracy and Social Change*:

⁵ Scott-Craig, T. S. K., *Christian Attitudes To War and Peace*, Scribner's, New York, 1938.

The antagonism between capitalist and socialist society which expresses itself against the Soviet Union adds religious appeal to its moral incitement of the war spirit. There is no battle cry so effective in arousing fanatical response as the call to a holy war. Already it has been raised against the Communists abroad and the Reds at home by some of our demagogues, both Protestant and Catholic. Millions have been prepared to answer it by the campaign of the Vatican against atheistic Communism, destroyer of religion and God. This appeal conceals the property interests that are involved for both church and capitalists, and the response to it is increased by the general fear of change and the disillusionment of idealists who expected the Soviet Union to act independently of the laws of state nature and a world controlled by power politics.⁶

The American Peace Mobilization, which, according to the New York *Herald Tribune*, "has been branded as a Communist front organization by government investigating agencies," is against "unjust wars" and presumably for "just" wars.⁷ Its membership includes several clergymen. Rev. John B. Thompson, Presbyterian, of Oklahoma City, is chairman of its religious committee. It feels the repeal or the evasion of the Johnson Act, the Neutrality Laws or any other similar moves "place us closer and closer to the brink of war." The President's foreign policy it sees as leading inevitably "to war and the destruction of democracy."⁸

Christian Dilemma

As the history of the anti-war movement shows, churches in the last century have passed innumerable resolutions against war in general, but, when the occasion arose they usually came around to endorsing wars in particular. Witness the American Civil War and the World War. The contradiction grows out of conflicting Christian traditions of pacifism, just wars, the divine right of the State, and international law.

During the years of disillusionment which followed the war of 1914-18 "to end all wars" the churches almost in unison arose and denounced war as "a sin against God."

The General Council of the Congregational and Christian Churches in 1934 declared: "The Church is through with war" and asked the

⁶ Ward, Harry F., *Democracy and Social Change*, Modern Age, New York, 1940.

⁷ New York *Herald Tribune*, January 10, 1941.

⁸ New York *Times*, January 10, 1941.

churches "to renounce war and all its works and ways and refuse to support, sanction or bless it."

The moderators and high officials of thirty denominations in the same year issued a public statement: "If others surrender to the necessity of war, we the more must see clearly and say boldly that the spirit of war and the spirit of Christ can never be reconciled and that we do not hesitate which to choose."⁹

The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in a pastoral letter stated: "The Cross is above the flag" and "in any issue between country and God, the clear duty of the Christian is to put obedience to God above every other loyalty."¹⁰

These are a few samples chosen at random from a collection by Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk in his *Religion Renounces War*.

What Would Jesus Do?

Now, with a renewal of warfare on a world scale, Christians are again plagued with the age-old questions: "What are you going to do about *this* war?" "What would Jesus do in *this* war?" "Would the Prince of Peace say, 'I am opposed to all wars, but *this* war is different. We must fight to save civilization itself from destruction?'"

In various churches are opponents to America's getting into the war, or giving aid to Britain. They are prompted by various motives. They include Communists, pro-Nazis, pro-Fascists, Father Coughlin and his followers, Irishmen who hate England, Italians who want Italy to win, and those Catholic priests and laymen who are influenced against England by their European cultural backgrounds. All of these want us to stay out of the war. These people, however, are *not* pacifists. They are not opposed to war on principle. They are merely opposed to our entrance into *this* war, for one reason or another.

Strict pacifists, like Reverend Allan Knight Chalmers and Reverend John Haynes Holmes, oppose our entrance into *this* war or *any* war.

Among religious journals of the interdenominational type, the *Christian Century* ranks first. This weekly publication, which has 31,000 subscribers, has been in the vanguard of the

anti-war movement for many years. For all practical purposes, at the present time, it may be regarded as pacifist. An analysis of its editorials and articles over the last few months reveals a consistent presentation of the theme of the futility of the present war, and the advisability of America's staying out. It opposed conscription and continues to lament and oppose it.

In an editorial, September 25, 1940, the editors, Charles Clayton Morrison and Paul Hutchinson state their convictions: "Conscription is here. It is a law and must be accepted as such. Nevertheless, we see no reason to change or modify the opposition to it. . . .

"We believe that this law is unnecessary, that instead of contributing to the defense of America it increases the danger of war, that it gives the President powers which no chief executive can safely hold in time of peace. When it is recalled that Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, members of an empire which has been at war more than a year, do not yet consider conscription necessary, it is possible to measure the panic mood in which this mistaken law has been imposed on the American people."

"Too Little and Too Late"

To the *Christian Century* it was not Hitler but British politicians who caused World War II: "Tory policy, faced by the undeniable wrongs of the have-not nations, consisted in doing nothing to change the enraged status quo, and then when threatened with adjustments by force—as in Manchuria, Austria, Ethiopia, Spain—again doing nothing. It was that which made Munich 'too little and too late' . . ."¹¹

This same journal opposed the sending of the destroyers to Britain, has opposed much of the Roosevelt foreign policy, and opposed reelection of Mr. Roosevelt because it believed his foreign policy was leading to war. The third term it regarded as just one more step toward Fascism in America.

The *Christian Century* frequently has warned against pro-British propaganda in the United States. It has viewed the William Allen White Committee as a propaganda drive to get America into the war. Against the rising tide of war spirit and war propaganda, it sets the

⁹ New York Times, January 5, 1934.

¹⁰ Living Church, November 18, 1933.

¹¹ Christian Century, October 16, 1940.

anti-war propaganda of Christian pacifism: "There is still a gospel of love . . . to doubt that good will can act with intelligence is to renounce faith in humanity. To deny that love is a force even in such a world as this is apostasy from the Christian gospel. After all, the world even now is no worse than the world into which Jesus came, and he thought it could be saved by love."¹²

God's Children

Also disseminating pacifist propaganda is the liberal Protestant journal, *Unity*. All during the first World War it stood firmly against American participation.

Today, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, of the Community Church, New York City, is the editor of *Unity*.¹³ Dr. Holmes was the outstanding pacifist clergyman in America during the World War. The Sunday before the United States entered that war, Dr. Holmes told his congregation that "war is never justifiable at any time or under any circumstances." He said he was opposed to all war in general and that one in particular. He continued:

War is an open and utter violation of Christianity . . . if war is right then Christianity is wrong, false, a lie. . . . There is not a question raised, an issue involved, a cause at stake, which is worth the life of one bluejacket on the sea or one khaki coat in the trenches. . . . When, years hence, the whole of this story has been told, it will be found that we have been tragically deceived, and all our sacrifice been made in vain. . . . Other pulpits may preach recruiting sermons; mine will not. Other parish houses may be turned into drill halls and rifle ranges; ours will not. Other clergy may pray to God for victory for our arms; I will not. In this church, if nowhere else in all America, the Germans will still be included in the family of God's children.

Dr. Holmes proposed to stand for free speech, to serve as a "minister of reconciliation," to strive to keep alive the spirit of goodwill, and to serve his country by "serving the ideals of democracy, preparing the way for the establishment of peace" and the dream of universal brotherhood.¹⁴

Dr. Holmes' position today is no less pronounced. He was criticized recently by the *Christian Register* (Unitarian) for praising

Gandhi's non-violence: "How successful would Gandhi's non-violence tactics have been if he were dealing with Nazi Germans . . . as he might be doing if England were defeated? Well, Gandhi would either have been shot out of hand or tortured to death. And that would have been the end of the whole business."

Dr. Holmes, as editor of *Unity*, retorted: "How successful were Jesus' non-violence tactics in his dealings with the Roman Empire? Well, Jesus was crucified. And that was the end of the whole business."¹⁵

In December, 1940, Dr. Holmes declared: "Like the early Christians and later Quakers, I am opposed to war . . . as a weapon either of aggression or defense. . . . I had rather die than kill, and see my country conquered than a conqueror."¹⁶

The Analogy of Rome

Despite what religious believers in "just" wars, and the Divine Right of the State and international law may say, the pacifists argue that not only the early Christian ethic but also historical facts justify the anti-war propaganda of pacifism. Two thousand years ago, they say, Jesus went to his death rather than resort to physical force in his own defense. The Roman authorities killed him. But the Roman Empire is now dead. The spirit of Jesus, and the power of Christianity, finally conquered and still lives on. Hence, these "spiritual" forces will ultimately triumph over all the Kingdoms of this earth. So runs their thesis. As propaganda, it utilizes Christian associations, traditions, and idealizations built up about Jesus. "What did Jesus say and do?" He said: Love your enemies; turn the other cheek.

Thus the pacifists use Jesus' words as testimony given by the Supreme Authority. "Christ on the Cross" to them is a symbol, powerful in transferring the prestige of His non-resistance to pacifist non-resistance today.

Statistical devices for measuring the influence of personalities and organizations are dubious. It seems probable, however, that Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick of New York's famous Riverside Church, may be influencing

¹² *Christian Century*, November 6, 1940.

¹³ Curtis W. Reese, managing editor of *Unity*, does not share the editor's pacifism. He believes that "moral and material strength should be used to resist Nazi aggression and expansion."

¹⁴ Ray H. Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*, Round Table Press, Inc., New York, 1933.

¹⁵ *Christian Register*, November 1, 1940.

¹⁶ *Christian Century*, December 11, 1940.

more Americans than even the more consistent Dr. Holmes, for Dr. Fosdick, like most Americans, was not a pacifist during the World War. Like many Americans who supported that war, he changed his mind when he saw how it had failed to "make the world safe for democracy." He has said repeatedly: "I do not propose to bless war again or support it, or expect from it any valuable thing."¹⁷ Dr. Fosdick reaches a national radio audience in addition to his influential New York congregation. From his radio listeners he receives 140,000 letters a year. How many of his hearers have come to share his views against war nobody can say. Such converts as he has made, like the converts made by clergymen such as Dr. Frank Kingdon, Reverend Harry Ward, Bishop William T. Manning, and Father Coughlin, set about converting others, for such is the nature of man, the propagandist.¹⁸

Dynamic Propagandists

Of the thousands of ministers who oppose the war, some, naturally, are more dynamic propagandists than others. From this smaller number come leaders like Dr. Holmes and Dr. Fosdick. In this brief study it is impossible to make personal references to more than a few such leaders. Among them, however, would be Rev. George A. Buttrick, President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Allan Knight Chalmers, minister of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York City; Reverend A. J. Muste, formerly of the Labor Temple, New York City; Reverend John Nevin Sayre; and Reverend Kirby Page, contributing editor of *Christian Century*.

Dr. Buttrick, in a radio address September, 1939, made his own position clear: "Twenty-five years ago we tried by means of war to 'make the world safe for democracy.' Now the world tries once more to cure hate by means of hate, to mend killing by multiplied killing. Twenty-five years hence our children may be fighting against other coercions, bred of the hatreds and poverties of war, different only in name from

present coercions, unless a worthier spirit and a nobler planning enter world affairs. Let us remain neutral, not selfishly, but as a people dedicated to that 'magnificent obsession' of a kindlier world."

Reverend Chalmers was a moving spirit in organizing scores of ministers into the Covenant of Peace group, which includes outstanding clergymen pacifists in all sections of the country. In a statement to the Institute in early January, 1941, Dr. Chalmers wrote that in 1934 he gathered together a group of ministers, including such men as Dr. Fosdick, Dr. Holmes, Dr. Buttrick, Dr. Sockman, Dr. Frederick K. Stamm—about twenty in all—who had publicly stated that they were "through with war." This group, said Dr. Chalmers, was responsible first of all for the Consecration Meeting in Riverside Church in May of 1935 "where 274 ministers made their solemn declaration that they renounced war and never would support another." In March, 1938, a check made of the same ministers indicated that they were standing firm against participation in war. In 1939 the Covenant of Peace Group distributed, for signatures, an "Affirmation of Christian Pacifist Faith." This declared their belief "that war, which attempts to overcome evil with more evil, is a denial of the way of the Cross," and it proclaimed that the gospel of God, as revealed in Jesus Christ, leaves no other choice but to refuse to sanction or participate in war. Within a week one hundred ministers had signed the Affirmation. During the next few weeks, according to Dr. Chalmers, fourteen hundred had affixed their signatures.

They Remain Pacifists

Again in 1940 the Covenant of Peace group sent out another statement to pacifist clergymen and once more discovered that they were not shifting in their point of view.

Dr. Chalmers and the Reverends Muste, Page, and Sayre are all associated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the most influential religious pacifist organization in America. It was founded in England soon after the outbreak of the first World War. In 1915 a chapter was founded in the United States. By 1917 the membership had grown to one thousand; today it numbers over ten thousand and includes some of the nation's most eminent clergy-

¹⁷ *Christian Century*, January 5, 1928.

¹⁸ See "Soldiers of the Lord," Vol. III, Institute for Propaganda Analysis, for reference to Bishop Manning as a propagandist for war.

See files of *Social Justice* for Father Coughlin's propaganda against United States participation in the present war and for his willingness to wage war against "athiestic Communism."

men. Last year it gained more than two thousand members. Its work, in inspiring and implementing its clergymen members, in helping them to be more effective propagandists against American participation in war, makes it one of the strongest agencies in America propagandizing against the views of the William Allen White Committee.

They Refuse to Register

With the passage of the Conscription Act the principles of pacifism were dramatized in refusal of 85 conscientious objectors, in various parts of the country, to register. Among these were eight students from Union Theological Seminary in New York City. Although exempt from service, they believed registration, itself, to be a part of the war system. Said Kenneth Walser, their trial attorney, "The trouble with them is that some time ago each one of them heard the call to promote the teachings of Jesus Christ. Their consciences hold them to the teachings of the Great Master. They believe those teachings to mean what they say, and they find in them instructions to have nothing to do with that mass killing which is called war."¹⁹ The students themselves stated: "It is not alone for our exemption from fighting that we work—it is for freedom of the American people from fascism and militarism . . . (The choice is between) loyalty to the democracy we are losing and loyalty to the democratic vote by which we are losing it . . . it is possible, democratically, to vote democracy out of existence."

For their refusal to register the students were sentenced to prison for a year and a day. As they were being led away after the sentence, the *Herald Tribune* reported, several middle-aged women, parents, and relatives of the young men and some of their fellow students and girl friends broke into tears. One man shouted: "Hitler has won again."

Relatively mild sentences given conscientious objectors together with wide-spread sympathy for these C.O.'s is a measure of the effectiveness of religious pacifist propaganda against war since 1917. The now common abbreviation, C.O., is itself an indication of pacifist propaganda efficiency.

During the World War only a few religious

organizations such as the Society of Friends, the Mennonites, and the Church of the Brethren were deeply interested in conscientious objectors. These church groups, together with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and what is now the American Civil Liberties Union, bore the brunt of the fight for the C.O. in 1917. But in 1941, virtually every church body in the country is on record as favoring non-combatant duty for the C.O. The Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian churches want all objectors to war on grounds of conscience to be exempt from military service—not merely the members of the Society of Friends.²⁰ Up to the present time, the Protestant churches have registered 6,000 conscientious objectors.

Churches Support C.O.'s

When conscription came before Congress, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, representing over twenty communions, appointed a committee through which a document setting forth the policy of the churches on the conscientious objector was presented to the chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on Naval Affairs.²¹ Consultations were held with officers of the War Department and the Department of Justice. Provision has been made for consultation with government officers and to support, in principle, the creation by the religious forces of a joint office in Washington to deal with problems of the conscientious objector.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Civil Liberties Union have offered their services. At the request of the former organization, Rev. Chalmers by October, 1940, had collected the signatures of 457 ministers to the following statement:

We desire to affirm our conviction that no action of government can abrogate or suspend our obligation as Christian ministers to counsel men in all circumstances to render obedience to conscience and resolutely to do the right as they see it. Therefore, we must make it clear to our fellow-citizens, and in particular to conscientious objectors to war in any form, that we stand ready to counsel and support in all ways within our power those who may be subject to difficulty or persecution because they are

²⁰ "Official Statements of Religious Bodies Regarding the Conscientious Objector," The Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. (No date.)

²¹ Federal Council Bulletin, October, 1940.

¹⁹ New York *Herald Tribune*, November 15, 1940.

unable conscientiously to cooperate in the operation of the conscription act.²²

During the World War, of the 3,989 C.O.'s in camps, 1,300 were assigned to noncombatant service, 1,200 were furloughed to agriculture, 99 to the Friends Reconstruction Unit in France, and 450 were sent to prison.²³

In 1940, the Friends, the Mennonites, and the Church of the Brethren established a joint office in Washington, D. C. to help conscientious objectors secure their rights under the law. Additionally, they are interested in cooperating in a program to secure adequate provision for forms of constructive service for the objectors under civilian (not military) control.

Thus, as a result of pacifist propaganda since 1918, respect for the religious conscientious objectors has increased to the extent that between government and religious groups there is much friendlier cooperation than existed in 1917.

The Reconciliation Idea

The Fellowship of Reconciliation propagandizes on a nation-wide scale, its members motivated by missionary zeal. Rev. J. N. Sayre is secretary; Rev. A. J. Muste, co-secretary. Although the F.O.R. budget for 1941 shows a 40 per cent increase in expenditures over 1940, high rent, big salaries, and lavish expense accounts aren't the reason for the increase. National headquarters of the F.O.R. are located on the fourth floor of a modest little building in uptown New York. The floors, as well as the partitions separating the tiny offices could use a coat of varnish; pamphlets and mimeographed materials are stacked up on a ledge in one of the rooms because there is no other place to put them. Suits of even the executives are shiny at the elbows. A typical expense account for a Fellowship secretary allows \$163 for a tour of the whole western section of the United States. And that includes train fare, hotel room, food, and tips.

At its meeting in September, 1940, at Chautauqua, N. Y., the Fellowship declared that in the event of actual invasion "the American people would have the organizing genius, if they will, to organize non-violent non-coopera-

tion with the invaders." It held that the development in America of a "democracy that worked" would "constitute a far more sure defense than bombers and battleships."²⁴

Meetings have been held under the auspices of the Fellowship from Maine to California. One, in New York City in October, 1940, combined with the Keep America Out of War Congress, scheduled such speakers as Norman Thomas, Dr. Evan W. Thomas (brother of Norman Thomas, and imprisoned conscientious objector in the First World War), Dorothy Day, editor of the *Catholic Worker*, Allan Knight Chalmers, Sidney E. Goldstein of the Free Synagogue and Michel Harris, Philadelphia sub-regional director of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee.²⁵

Last summer Kirby Page, an F.O.R. organization leader, completed a trip of "16 weeks of travel through 19 states covering 17,000 miles by car." He kept engagements in 75 communities and "spoke three times daily on the average for six days a week." Observes Kirby Page: "In numbers and in robust vitality the religious movement against war has never been so encouraging."

The Pacifist Front

In 1941 pacifist ministers and groups are better organized and more active than they were in 1917. Moreover, in addition to the Quakers and the F.O.R., which are particularly active and propagandistic, there are many other peace groups. The strongest and most influential which are for the most part supported by the church people are: The National Peace Conference (representing about 40 national organizations, many of which are church groups), the National Council for the Prevention of War, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The strongest peace organization within the larger Protestant bodies is the Peace Commission of the Methodist Church.

While the Jews have no historic traditional teaching against war such as has existed in some of the Christian bodies, rabbis in many parts of the country have been active anti-war

²² *Fellowship*, September, 1940.

²³ Thomas, Norman, *The Conscientious Objector in America*, Huebsch, N. Y., 1923.

²⁴ "As War Comes Nearer," a statement by the Twenty-fifth Annual Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Chautauqua, New York, September 6-8, 1940. Issued by the F.O.R., N. Y.

²⁵ *Christian Century*, October 16, 1940.

propagandists. Many organizations, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, receive support from Jews.

The Catholics have a Catholic Association for Peace and another organization called Pax. The journals, *Catholic Social Action* and the *Catholic Worker*, are pronouncedly against the war. In November 1940, *Catholic Social Action*, discussing pro-British propaganda in America declared: "We have here in America a group of super-propagandists who mask their true intentions with high words. But their deeds speak more loudly than their words. Hiding behind their official positions, positions of respect and even the clerical cloth, they are revealed now as hyphenated Americans who are being duped the same way in which the intellectuals were duped and misled during the first World War."

The Catholic Position?

War opinion among Catholics is divided as it is among most of the Protestant and Jewish groups. Most Catholics and the Church itself take the position that there are "just" wars. Various Popes at various times have found some wars just and some unjust. In the present conflict, some critics have accused the Catholic Church of vacillating. Articles to this effect have appeared, for example, in the *Christian Index* (Georgia), the *Christian Century*, and the *Baptist Times* of London.

In other words, some non-Catholics do not regard the Pope's peace efforts as impressive. They see the avowed head of the Church of Christ on earth not as a man of peace but an opportunist. This judgment seems harsh and prejudiced to devout Catholics, and there have been protests. Bishop Gerald O'Hara, Roman Catholic prelate of Savannah and Atlanta, exclaimed against such criticism as "vile," "indecent," and lacking in "Christian spirit."²⁰

Following Italy's entrance into the war, Catholic leaders in Italy began to bless the cause of Italian arms. The Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Schuster, according to the *New York Times* of July 26, visited the military barracks and prayed that "God be with our dear soldiers."

On July 31, the *New York Times* reported that the Bishop of Foggia and Troia had directed "a warm appeal to the clergy and faith-

²⁰ *Christian Century*, October 6, 1940.

ful of his dioceses in which he claimed the historic right of the House of Savoy to the Holy Land." At the same time, the Bishop of Teracina issued a pastoral letter saying: "We should strive to fulfill our duty in this grave, solemn hour, and while our dear ones fight bravely on the field of battle we ought most fervently to address our prayers to the God of Hosts that He may deign to bless the officers and soldiers and crown their sacrifice and heroism with complete victory. We should particularly pray for the return of the holy places and especially the Cenacle and the Holy Sepulchre, which will receive the veneration due them only when the flag of Catholic and Fascist Italy flies above them."

Il Mondo, Italian anti-Fascist monthly publication of New York, in its September, 1940 issue referring to the above pastoral letter points out that England, of course, must be defeated before the Italian flag can fly over Palestine.

The Pope himself, according to the *New York Herald Tribune*, of September 5, 1940 spoke to 5,000 members of the Italian Catholic Action on their patriotic and religious duty. "They must be lovers of their fatherland," he said, "and even ready to give up their lives for it whenever the lawful good of the country exacts the supreme sacrifice."

On the other hand, the Pope has repeatedly condemned the anti-Catholic policies of Nazi Germany.

The Christian Scientists

The official position of the Christian Science Church, in the United States is obviously non-pacifist. An editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor* on May 16, 1940, stated: "... the Allies have no choice but to defend themselves and friendly smaller nations by military force, and ... in so doing they are upholding the democratic rights of people everywhere." The *Christian Science Sentinel* on January 4, 1941, declared that "... a Christian Scientist could not claim exemption as a conscientious objector without misrepresenting Christian Science."

In virtually all of the propagandas opposing or favoring aid to Britain or American participation in the war, economic and political considerations are implicit or explicit. The

propaganda of the Quakers and other pacifist groups is anti-authoritarian in effect; the propaganda of the American Peace Mobilization stresses democracy explicitly, and to some it implies approval of Socialism or Communism.

Prominent among those who stress economic and political considerations with respect to the war is Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Methodist. In the *Christian Century*, January 15, 1941, Bishop McConnell declared: "... if we must defend ourselves in a war, we must have a right to discuss openly the terms on which the war is to cease." He indicated that among those terms must be a willingness to subordinate our national sovereignty "for the sake of international adjustments which will diminish the power of nationalism as a force making for war."

Economic Emphases

In the same article, Bishop McConnell pointed to the present economic system as a chief cause of war. He wrote:

Capitalism at present does not produce material goods in such volume and on such terms as to bring enough of them within the reach of the buying power of enough of the people . . . an economic system which leaves ten million men in this land unemployed through a period of ten years when they are willing to be employed can hardly be called an unqualified success. . . . The economic factor is not the only one to be considered as making for war, but there is excellent reason for calling it the chief factor. The necessity of worrying about one's food and clothes and shelter most of one's time creates resentment and envy.

The majority of the American people are friendly to any movement toward larger and better chances for men, women and children, but the minority who put these values in the second place are materialistic beyond description. If the fascists should conquer Britain and start toward the United States, all they would have to do to capture outright large sections of our materialistic Tories would be to promise to save the United States from communism, whether there was any danger from communism or not.

Churches in America which stress pacifism as a central part of their faith have a membership of about 365,000 divided as follows: The Friends, about 125,000; the Mennonites about 100,000; and the Church of the Brethren about 140,000. Allowing for members of some pacifist churches who are not pacifists and for members of non-pacifist churches who are pacifists, the total number of Christian pacifists in Amer-

ica may be about 450,000, less than one per cent of this country's total church membership, but a dynamic minority, moved to high zeal by a faith which flourishes under adversity.

The anti-war position of this pacifist group, in the light of pacifist theory and practice, will tend to be constant no matter what happens in the present conflict. Realignments may be expected, however, of other religious groups now against United States aid to Britain or American participation in the war. For example, if the Soviet Union becomes an ally of Britain, especially of a Britain which has removed the "Tory appeasers" from places of power, it seems possible that the American Peace Mobilization movement might begin propagandizing for military aid to Communist Russia. In such event Father Coughlin and other Catholics now opposed to aid to Britain probably would be joined by many Catholic and Protestant believers in "just" wars who at present favor aid to Britain; and joining them would be both liberals and conservatives now favoring Britain but hating Communism.

If, on the other hand, the Soviet Union becomes a belligerent on the side of Germany and Italy, profound changes may be expected in the attitudes of many Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. Some groups and spokesmen propagandizing against aid to Britain probably would favor such aid even at risk of war.

With shifts and realignments in the line-up of belligerents, there will be corresponding shifts in the interests of various propaganda groups, in the religious field as elsewhere. In as much as religion is a powerful motivating force, religious propaganda, in the next few months, or even weeks, may alter markedly the picture of World War II.

"TREASON IN THE TEXTBOOKS"

The Institute's February bulletin will analyze propaganda activities of individuals and pressure groups seeking to influence the selection of school textbooks, school programs, and school costs. It will deal with the attack on the Rugg textbooks, legislative investigations into "radicalism" in the schools, and organized propaganda against "too much education." Tell your friends to subscribe to *Propaganda Analysis* now to be sure of getting this bulletin.

Propaganda Analysis Guide

MANY groups, particularly church and young peoples' organizations, will wish to carry the analysis begun in this Propaganda Analysis bulletin further. In terms of their own experiences, observations, and study, individuals and groups will want to inquire into the various types of anti-war propagandas carried on by the churches of America. In so doing, they will want to look for the assumptions which underlie each type of propaganda, to clarify the *differences* between, let us say, the anti-war propaganda of the Methodist Federation for Social Service and the anti-war propaganda of Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* magazine. In so doing, they will find differences of assumptions, of methods, of goals.

"Soldiers of the Lord,"¹ an earlier Institute bulletin on church propaganda for "righteous" war, will help provide a balance of information and points of view in dealing with the questions posed in the current Propaganda Analysis bulletin. See *Preachers Present Arms*, by Ray H. Abrams, and other reading references.

Study and discussion suggestions which follow should be used creatively: consider their possibilities with the chairman and members of your group, then decide upon definite lines of inquiry in terms of group discussions or particular projects, or follow-up reading and reports to the group. Choose those tasks which most interest yourself and your group. Refer to context of the current bulletins for additional material and suggestions.

I. PACIFISM VS. ANTI-WAR

Making Distinctions

We must make distinctions between pacifist propaganda and anti-war propaganda from the pulpit. Anti-war and isolationist propaganda from the churches of the country are not synonymous with pacifism. Pacifism, it may be contended, is rooted in individual conscience; it is a personal thing, having its source in ethical, not political, judgments.

A. Discuss (1) differences between ethical and political judgments; and (2) whether or not by the very nature of the ethical-individual pacifist judgment, those persons who hold the

pacifist point of view can ethically propagandize others for acceptance of their conviction.

REFERENCES

Christian Conscience and the State, by Robert L. Calhoun and Roland H. Bainton. *Social Action* pamphlet, published by the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, New York, October 15, 1940. Concise, clear presentation of the pacifist position, and of the social function of the conscientious dissenter, as well as other church positions on war.

Max Plowman: *The Faith Called Pacifism*, J. M. Dent, 1936. Brief, graphic.

R. B. Gregg: *The Power of Non-Violence*, J. B. Lippincott, 1934. Pioneer analysis of the theory of non-violent resistance.

B. Various types of anti-war propagandas are carried on by the church. In general, it may be said objectors fall into two broad groupings. These are:

1. Isolationists who desire to avoid entanglement in the present world crisis, but who have no conscientious convictions against taking part in war. Here, a variety of reasons may prevail, ranging from pro-Nazi sympathies to traditional abhorrence of war, or to belief that the national interest is best served by keeping out of armed conflict. There are wide differences of motive within this group.

Seek out the motivations of churchmen who may be called anti-war, such as Father Coughlin, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, and Dr. Harry F. Ward. In the process of reading and analyzing their pronouncements, draw up as complete a list of motivations as possible. See foregoing, for examples.

REFERENCES

Information Service, published weekly, except July and August, by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York. See especially Vol. XIX, No. 34.

Social Questions bulletin of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, New York. See especially Vol. 30, numbers 8 and 9, for November and December, 1940.

World Peace Newsletter, by The Commission on World Peace of The Methodist Church, Chicago. See especially Vol. I, Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4.

National Peace Conference Bulletin, published by National Peace Conference, New York. Reports activities of organizations such as: Catholic Ass'n

¹ Vol. III, No. 7, pp. 61-72.

for International Peace, National Council of Jewish Women, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Use church, or library files of the following publications:

The *Christian Century*, widely circulated progressive Protestant journal of opinion.

The *Catholic Worker*, militant left-wing periodical.

Commonweal and *America*, Catholic journals of opinion, with divergent points of view.

Social Justice, Father Coughlin's publication.

See other references listed in the text of the current Propaganda Analysis bulletin.

2. Those persons who refuse on principle to take part in *any* war are regarded by the government as entitled to listing as conscientious objectors.

Convictions, here as in the first grouping, may rise from different assumptions. Consider:

The Mennonites, Quakers, Church of the Brethren. What is their position, their assumptions? In what ways do these differ from the position of those churchmen and laymen who hold their convictions on moral, social, humanitarian grounds? Can the Mennonites, the Quakers, the John Haynes Holmes be said to be "isolationists?"

REFERENCE

See *Christian Conscience and the State*, listed above, for a vivid, clear point of view on the social role of dissenters.

II. OPINION ANALYSIS

Keep records, stenographic if possible, of your group's discussions. Study the transcribed record, trying to analyze insofar as possible *why* you and the members of your group, or church, think as you do. What are your assumptions on such issues as the conscientious objector, the Selective Service Act, and "all aid to Britain, short of war." Use word choices, patterns of thought, transfer of associations as clues to *how* and *why* people reach their conclusions.

For example, today, increasingly, every group which is opposed to the President's foreign policy is being lumped together under the general label "appeasers." This is a powerful propaganda device, attested to by Hitler's success with the word, Jew. See his *Mein Kampf* for explanation of the propaganda value of

calling every democrat, or other enemy of his regime, a Jew.

REFERENCE

Propaganda for Blitzkrieg, PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, Vol. III, No. 10, Institute for Propaganda Analysis, New York.

III. TRANSFER FROM THE PULPIT

Oftentimes, clergymen preach against war from the same motivations, as do laymen. Turn to the sermon page in your Monday newspaper, compare interventionist and isolationist statements of the clergy with statements of the laity, or of the paper's editorial columns. Compare, for example, the position of the Methodist Federation for Social Service with that of the *New Republic* magazine.

Consider the propaganda or persuasive effects of the following: The clergyman may appeal to the same temporal authorities as does the layman—to Walter Millis' *Road to War* or to Senator Nye—but at the same time he also appeals to the Bible, to the teachings of Christ and His disciples. Upon what common mental processes, described in "Propaganda for Blitzkrieg," listed above, does the Transfer Device operate?

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.
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Officers: President, Kirtley Mather, Harvard University; Vice President, F. Ernest Johnson, Teachers College, Columbia University; Executive Secretary, Clyde R. Miller, Teachers College, Columbia University; Treasurer, Alfred M. Lee, New York University.

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Note: By its charter the Institute is a non-profit corporation organized to assist the public in detecting and analyzing propaganda, but it is itself forbidden to engage in propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation.

The Institute does not have all the answers: it lays no claim to infallibility. It will try to be scientific, objective and accurate. If it makes mistakes, it will acknowledge them. It asks those who receive its bulletins to check its work.

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Propaganda Analysis

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A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

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Volume IV

FEBRUARY 25, 1941

Number 4

Propaganda Over the Schools

"WHAT kind of picture shall be given to the students in our secondary schools and colleges of this our business civilization? Shall it be a wholly flattering portrait with abuses and evils carefully painted out, or shall it show the business world as it is in everyday transactions?"

The question sounds as though it were one from a harassed school principal. It is not. It was asked by the editor of *Retail Executive*, Earl W. Elhart, in a front-page editorial discussing the proposal of the Advertising Federation of America for local attacks on the use of the Rugg social science textbooks in high schools. Mr. Elhart preceded his question with this warning: "It would be easy for the whole advertising profession, retail as well as national, to become inflamed over these charges and to start a new kind of witch hunt to reach a climax with the burning of books at the stake."

The warning was prophetic. In Bradner, Ohio, last Spring, the Rugg books were publicly burned by a vice president of the local school board. In Binghamton, New York, after an attack conducted by Merwin K. Hart, president of the New York State Economic Council, Inc., two school board members advocated burning their set.¹

In Atlanta, Georgia, last fall, at a hearing on the books held before the Governor and the State board of education, people who had not

read the books made impassioned pleas against them. One middle-aged woman stood up, eyes staring from side to side, and although admitting she had not read the books, said in a shrill voice:

"I am here, not thinking that I was going to be at all, but I am and I want to say just a few words. Righteousness, good government, good homes, and God—God most of all—Christ is on trial today. . . .

You can't take the youth of our land and give them this awful stuff and have them come out safe and sound for God and righteousness. Are our homes falling down? Where are the altars in our homes? . . .

I'm saying this is a banner day for righteousness, if the people will turn back to God. . . . Wake up America and turn back to God! And you will see things go forward."²

The initiator of the complaint in Atlanta, Captain Jack Kelly of the State police, a Legionnaire and member of the Governor's State Defense Corps, pointed to Dr. Rugg in the hearing and said: "There sits the ring master of the Fifth Columnists in America, financed by the Russian government. I want you people to look at him."³

Such incidents are not isolated. For more than a year the schools have been front-page news featuring such controversies as the attack on the Rugg books, the Bertrand Russell case, the Rapp-Coudert testimony on Communist activities in New York City colleges, the National Association of Manufacturers' project for a textbook survey. Meanwhile throughout the nation "taxpayers' groups" have fought against school costs.

For more than a hundred years, since Horace

¹ Professor Rugg's view of these attacks is set forth in his volume, *That Men May Understand*, to be published in March by Doubleday-Doran, New York. The propaganda on both sides of this conflict is summarized in the following pages.

² *Meeting, State Board of Education; Hearing: Rugg Textbooks*, September 18, 1940. Transcript of Proceedings.

³ *Atlanta Journal*, September 16, 1940.

Mann initiated the battle for tax-supported, non-sectarian public schools, education has been a major subject of agitation and propaganda. "Excepting the battle for the abolition of slavery," Professor E. P. Cubberley⁴ wrote of that first struggle, "perhaps no question has ever been before the American people for settlement which caused so much feeling or aroused such bitter antagonism." The followers of Horace Mann won that round, and public, non-sectarian schools became a basic American institution.

Today the fight has been renewed as intensely as before. True, the schools are accepted as a standard American institution but the content and scope of education are under attack. Many groups feel that what the schools teach is crucial; that changes may jeopardize the realization of deep-seated hopes. So the issue is one of control. Who will determine what the schools teach, and to what end?

The Sides in the Conflict

Engaged in the conflict are diverse organizations with varied interests. In general, these fall into two large groups. The first is composed of teachers and allied organizations. Teachers and school administrators alone number 900,000. A powerful initiating force for educational expansion is the National Education Association, which, with its 203,000 members, is one of the largest bodies of any kind in America. The N.E.A. is a broad organization representing diverse educational philosophies ranging from the traditional to the "modern." Through its research and its large conventions, it activates its members and multiplies the power of their propaganda. Its Educational Policies Commission, employing some of the keenest minds among American scholars, is setting educational goals which include nationwide advances in school facilities and a realism in studies to help students understand and adjust themselves to a drastically changing world.

A second body is the Progressive Education Association. It has a compact membership of 10,000 unified by adherence to the "progressive" philosophy stemming mainly from Dr. John Dewey. It has been a powerful factor in changing teaching methods during the past two dec-

⁴ *Public Education in the United States*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1934. p. 164.

ades. In the thirties it had a million dollars from foundations, notably the Rockefeller General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation, for its experimental work. Possibly equal in importance to the N.E.A. and P.E.A. in bringing about increased support of education as well as acceptance of new educational philosophies and practices, have been the schools of education of colleges and universities.

Carrying along the tradition of the American labor movement, which in the last century was an important factor in establishing public schools as an American institution, is the militant American Federation of Teachers. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, its influence goes much beyond its 30,000 members. Its long campaign for better salaries, tenure and academic freedom has given impetus to many educational bodies striving for these ends. By reason of its militancy it tends to take advanced positions, gets out in front, and bears the brunt of many of the attacks by propagandists for non-school organizations.

The influence of the A.F.T. centers chiefly in strong locals in large industrial centres, including Toledo, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Atlanta, New York City, Chicago, Chattanooga, Seattle, Butte, Montana; St. Paul and Detroit. These locals have their effect also on legislatures in their States. In rural areas the A.F.T. has little or no influence.⁵

Unity on Basic Interests

The organizations in the school group have many internal conflicts, one of the largest centering around the policies of the A.F.T. Also, teachers differ sharply as to the merits of traditional as opposed to "progressive" educational practices. However, they find a broad unity in common goals of educational expansion, professional improvement, and security.

The non-school group includes various bodies of diverse nature. Foremost among its propaganda initiators, and served by some of the ablest public relations men in America, are business men's organizations. Notable among

⁵ Besides these big national organizations, there are the State teacher associations, State and city federations, parent-teacher groups, multitudinous intra-professional bracketings, academic societies, foundations, institutes, commissions, and bodies working for State aid and special teacher interests. Especially effective in getting educational appropriations through State legislatures are the State educational associations.

these are the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

In the past many business organizations have supported the extension of school facilities. For example, real estate dealers frequently have backed bond issues and tax levies for school buildings and teacher salaries; heads of business establishments have supported more schooling for more boys and girls, particularly vocational classes. The real estate dealers could cite the schools as among attractions of the subdivisions they were promoting, and business men recognized in the public schools an economical means of training an abundant supply of workers.

Business Leaders Alarmed

Indeed, business men and educators alike before 1929 saw in extension of public education an important factor for expanding the market; while providing more workers, it developed on a mass scale a desire for the products those workers created and bought.⁶ Businessmen saw in the schools, too, a means of creating an enlightened electorate.

Since 1929 the population has been made more tax-conscious and thus has become susceptible to propaganda aiming at tax cuts. Many business men have held that taxes were reducing profits to the danger point. Meanwhile, the general displacement of labor had made industry less dependent on the schools for the supply of trained employees. Many business groups who, in the past, had advocated or at least not opposed increases in school costs thus felt free to join the demand for "economy." By the middle thirties this had become a potent propaganda word, and school budgets the nation over felt the impact.

After 1929 a new factor began to enter the picture—fear. It grew among the business community particularly after Mr. Roosevelt's "attacks on business." Here and there leaders in this group thought they saw the beginning of a regime which would end the "free enterprise" system; indeed this fear was evident in the propaganda against Roosevelt in his campaign for a second term. His re-election served only to increase it. At the same time, New Deal appropriations for distressed farmers and for relief

⁶ The boom accompanying the national defense program is reviving support of vocational training.

and alphabetical agency jobs for millions of unemployed furnished a new talking point for "economy." With some educators endorsing Roosevelt, with others advocating sweeping economic and social reforms which went beyond the New Deal, the fear increased. Were the schools themselves to be utilized to promote the "collectivism" of this New Deal to destroy the American business system? To some of the leaders of the business community it seemed so. They organized to fight.⁷ A group in the National Association of Manufacturers, out of fear of the general reform movement, brought about the rejuvenation of this organization in 1933, with T. M. Girdler, chairman of the Republic Steel Corporation, as one of the leading underwriters of funds for the purpose.⁸ The body speedily grew in members and power. Today it gives its membership at 8,000.⁹

N.A.M. Influence Extensive

The N.A.M.'s leading members have such wide contacts that their names often appear in many activities not directly linked with the association. For example leading members are influential in the New York State Economic Council, Inc., a body which is believed to have influence outside its own territory. This is a privately organized membership council started by its president, Merwin K. Hart, a leader in the attack on the Rugg textbooks. He is a strong advocate of the view that private enterprise is being undermined. His organization publishes a semi-monthly bulletin and concerns itself, as regards education, with both costs and subject matter. Mr. Hart recently stated that its chief supporter was James H. Rand Jr., president of the Remington Rand Company.¹⁰ A member of the Council's board of directors is the treasurer of the Mohawk Carpet Mills,

⁷ Not all business men feared the "modern" type of education. E. A. Filene, for instance, speaking before the Department of Superintendence of the N.E.A. at Cleveland in February, 1934, said: "Teaching our children *what* to think cannot possibly fit them for life in these changing times. *We do not know* what they should think; for they must deal with things which we know nothing about. We must teach them *how* to think—how to find out about those things, so that they may apply this new knowledge to the new problems with which they will inevitably be faced."

⁸ Study of the N.A.M., U. S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor (76th Congress, 1st Session, Report No. 6, Part 6), p. 46.

⁹ Figure supplied by N.A.M. headquarters.

¹⁰ *PM*, January 5, 1941.

which has been a large contributor to the N.A.M.; and whose chairman has been treasurer of the N.A.M.

Donors to the Economic Council's funds have included Lamont Du Pont, president of the E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co., a director of General Motors Corporation; A. W. Erickson, chairman of the board of McCann-Erickson, Inc., (a large New York advertising agency) and Congoleum-Nairn, Inc., Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors Corporation; and J. H. Alstyne, president of the Otis Elevator Company.¹¹ All these men or their companies have been large contributors to the N.A.M.; some of the men have been directors. Mr. Du Pont, who has been the largest single contributor to the N.A.M.,¹² is at present chairman of its committee on educational cooperation.

Mr. Hart works actively for cuts in the New York State education appropriation. He organized a "Revolt of Private Enterprise" in 1939 to induce the legislature to cut the budget. A cut of \$10,000,000 was made in the school funds (most of which was restored in 1940). Mr. Hart, author of *America, Look At Spain*, a book praising Nationalist Spain and Generalissimo Franco, the dictator, is opposed to tenure of office provisions for teachers and to equal pay for men and women teachers.¹³

Sokolsky's Critical Series

The N.A.M. has as its radio commentator George E. Sokolsky, the magazine writer and New York *Sun* columnist. He wrote a series of articles in *Liberty Magazine* in 1940 voicing the fear of the current school teachings. G. L. Harrington, vice president of the MacFadden Publications, Inc., owners of *Liberty*, in 1936 was a member of the N.A.M. National Industrial Information Committee.¹⁴ The themes of the articles are indicated by their titles: "Propaganda in our Schoolbooks: Is It Not Treason to the Spirit of America?—Here Are Startling Facts;" "Our Children's Guardians: What Do You Know of the Teachers to Whom You Entrust Your Boys and Girls? Here Are Things That May Surprise You;" and "Is Your Child Being Taught to Loaf? Are Democratic Prin-

ciples Disappearing from Our Schoolbooks? A Vital Problem Every Parent Should Make His Own."

Another member of the N.A.M. National Industrial Information Committee was Walter D. Fuller,¹⁵ president of the Curtis Publishing Company, owner of the *Saturday Evening Post*. This magazine in its issue of March 16, 1940, carried an article by Ann L. Crockett questioning the Progressive education approach in the schools. It was entitled, "Lollipops Vs. Learning: A High School Teacher Speaks Out."

"Lollipops vs. Learning"

Miss Crockett questions whether most of the "progressive" ideas for "socializing" children as applied in the public schools result in real learning. The trouble, she thinks, is that parents have given the administrators so much "latitude for their intellectual boondoggling." She said:

Our superintendents are trained in janitor-management, school-building design, budget-making—to be foremen at the heads of educational plants—and in the methods of teaching. Modern superintendents are not teachers; they know how to teach any subject under heaven but they are literally not required to know anything about subject matter itself. . . . How many of us would employ a physician who had spent one year studying the diseases of the body and six more on How to Approach the Patient?

The pressure for tax reduction including school budget cuts is exerted locally by taxpayers' organizations operating under various names of the Glittering Generality type. One of the most common is the taxpayers league or association. Another is the "Public Expenditures Survey", an example of which is reported on later in this bulletin. There are taxpayers' associations in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kentucky, Tennessee, Nebraska, Montana, Utah, and California, and indeed in almost every State and large city.

The California Taxpayers Association, for example, which constantly seeks heavy cuts in school expenditures, reductions in teacher salaries, dilution of the program and increased teaching loads, is closely associated with the State Chamber of Commerce through an interlocking directorate. The budget of this organization varies from \$100,000 to \$150,000 a year. The records of the State Railroad Commission

¹¹ *New Republic*, September 2, 1936.

¹² U. S. Senate Report, Op. Cit., pp. 242-254.

¹³ He spoke against these two points in a talk before the Torch Club in Utica, New York, November 16, 1931.

¹⁴ U. S. Senate Report, Op. Cit., p. 292.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

show that nine utility companies increased their contributions to the Taxpayers Association from \$38,641 in 1936 to \$58,299 in 1939. Last year's figures are not yet available. The contributions from the nine utilities in 1939 were as follows: Los Angeles Railway Company \$500; Southern Pacific \$12,000; Pacific Gas and Electric Corporation \$15,063; Union Pacific \$3,125; Pacific Electric Railway Company \$1,500; Southern California Edison Company \$6,641; Santa Fe Railway \$9,000; Pacific Telephone and Telegraph \$6,000; and Southern California Gas Company \$4,469.

The non-school group also includes the patriotic societies, whose goal is to instill patriotism. Most important of these today is the American Legion. These bodies utilize the psychological process of Custom. By constant repetition of teachings and ceremonials evoking memories of the nation's glorious past, its founding fathers and war-time heroes, they themselves become institutionalized as symbols of Americanism. Their approval can help school programs; their disapproval can seriously injure them. Their interest in education is intense. Particularly is this true of the Legion. An analysis of this body made in 1938 by Professor William Gellermann showed the wide ramifications of its educational program.¹⁶

The Watch over Patriotism

Legionaires, like teachers and business men, differ widely in their individual attitudes toward education. The Legion, however, has an Americanism Commission, which, through local committees, keeps careful watch to prevent subversive teachings. These committees work in coordination with newspapers, churches, and business organizations.

One hundred and fifteen patriotic societies are loosely associated in a single national body, the American Coalition, which claims to represent 20,000,000 persons.¹⁷ Its affiliated organizations range from the Sons of the American Revolution to the Associated Farmers¹⁸ of Cal-

ifornia and the Christian American Crusade. One of the American Coalition's educational activities has been the sending of a questionnaire to school administrators asking such questions as this: "Do you believe that the taxpayer has a right to demand that the public schools, colleges, and universities supported by public funds should inculcate respect for (a) The Constitution of the United States? (b) The national emblem? (c) The armed forces upon which the nation relies for defense in case of war?"

The Churches Take Sides

Also active in the great non-school group are the churches. Their major interest is to see that nothing is taught in the schools which might make young people susceptible to atheism, or which conflicts with traditional church morality, especially as this is concerned with divorce and marital relations. Many churches also seek to obtain religious instruction in the public schools and public monies for sectarian education.

It was not until the first World War that the church bodies, wishing to carry on religious training in the school, made any appreciable headway. Although the Bible has been required reading in Massachusetts since 1826, Pennsylvania only enacted a similar law in 1913; then followed Delaware, Tennessee, and New Jersey, and seven more states at the height of Klan activities.

Some church organizations pursue a "hands off" policy in respect to the public schools, and are zealous in their championship of academic freedom and separation of Church and State. Various Catholic organizations are working for Federal and State aid to parochial schools. The November, 1940, meeting of the Department of Superintendents of the National Catholic Education Association recommended that Catholic school authorities "continue their efforts to secure for Catholic school pupils a just share of the funds which are annually expended by the Federal Government and the individual States and subdivisions thereof for the support of education in the United States."

Catholics, Protestants, and Jews alike, with numerous individuals dissenting, have propagandized for religious instruction, with parents' consent, the pupils to be excused from school for such instruction. Lay groups have expressed

¹⁶ William Gellermann, *The American Legion as Educator*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1938.

¹⁷ *Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives*. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1938. Volume I, p. 280.

¹⁸ For an analysis of the Associated Farmers see *Propaganda Analysis*, August, 1939.

their belief in religious instruction, notably the New York State Chamber of Commerce. In New York State in 1940 this instruction was authorized by legislation, of which the chief sponsor was Frederic R. Coudert Jr. The latter's current work in investigating "subversive activities" in the schools is described later.

The grave concern felt by leaders in the non-school group about some school teachings was borne in on the whole country last December when the N.A.M. announced its intention to scrutinize textbooks. The announcement said that some 800 books in general use in the public school system would be summarized to give a quick view of "the author's attitude toward our governmental and economic institutions." The Association proposed that individual readers "read in full any book which, on the basis of the abstracts, seems to him to be of questionable merit" and "determine whether there is any basis, and if so, how much, for the growing apprehension about the contents of school textbooks." The alarm springs from a belief that the schools are conditioning pupils to accept a new social order based on national planning. In the opinion of H. W. Prentis Jr., the past president of the N.A.M., such planning amounts to "creeping collectivism."

Free Enterprise Threatened?

In an address on "The Mobilization for Understanding of Private Enterprise," delivered before regional meetings of the N.A.M. during 1940, Mr. Prentis warned that unless such planning was stopped, it would destroy private enterprise, and he asked his audiences: "How many of you have ever investigated what is being taught in the schools of your community?" Such investigation, he said, would reveal 25,000²⁰ schools were using the Rugg textbooks, which, he added, stressed that the "national economic society must be reconstructed to provide for central control of the whole enterprise with power to develop a designed system and to provide for its operation by expert personnel."

The N.A.M. called its members and potential members to action. It issued two pamphlets, "The Mobilization for Understanding of Priv-

²⁰ Professor Rugg, in an article in the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* for January, 1941, says his books are used in 5,000 school places.

ate Enterprise," and "You Are a *Sentinel* for Private Enterprise," to guide business men in the campaign. The "sentinel" was asked to give this pledge:

"I will be constantly on the alert for all attacks upon industry and I will stand ready at all times to clarify any misunderstandings that exist and to reply to unjustified criticism as forcefully and as effectively as I can."

N.A.M. "Sentinels"

It is necessary for business men to become "sentinels," the pamphlet explains, because "the radicals, the 'pinks', the 'economic planners' and other detractors of the private enterprise system gain headway by the personal evangelistic spirit that each of them gives to the movement which he is fostering." It urges the "sentinels," among various tasks, to talk with their children "about the material they are being taught regarding our economic system." The advice continues:

In a spirit of cooperation and helpfulness, pay more attention to what the young people of your community are being taught. Talk with your local school principal or with the head of the board of education to see what textbooks are being used. See to it that the young people of your community are rightly informed of the fundamentals of industry and free enterprise in America and that they know the principles of the system under which they live and in which they will be leaders tomorrow.

Tell your local education officials that factual information for use as study material is available on request from the N.A.M. and that it is already being used by thousands of schools that have requested it.

Thus top figures in American industry²⁰ believe they must lead an effort to change school books dealing with the conception of American life. On the other hand, these are books which the country's school administrators have selected. Thus the issue of control is joined.

In selecting the social science textbooks of Professor Harold Rugg the N.A.M. hit on the man who is the most widely read writer in the school social studies field. More than 2,000,000 copies of his books have been sold in the twenty years since he began writing them.

Professor Rugg's books grew out of his experimental classes at Lincoln School, Columbia University. He became convinced that high

²⁰ The U. S. Senate Report (Op. Cit.) said that 262 large contributors supplied the principal support for the Association's propaganda activities. These large contributors had, throughout the period covered by the study (1933-37) a majority on the Association's board of directors. In 1937 the Association had 3,000 members; it now reports 8,000.

school students could obtain a better grasp of history, civics, geography, and economics if these were integrated into a single course. He and his assistants have made their interpretation in a series of twenty volumes under the general title *Man and His Changing Society*. The books are used in all grades from the third to senior high school. They have undergone occasional attacks since 1927, and have generally been upheld. A notable instance was in Washington, D. C., where the school board re-approved them five years ago.

But no previous attack has reached the proportions of the present one. By May, 1940, Professor Rugg had assembled 240 pieces of attack on his books, dating from the previous fourteen months. These were mostly from the New York and New Jersey area, but included two from Pennsylvania towns, some from Washington, D. C., 6 from Bradner, Ohio; 9 from Cedar Rapids, Iowa; 20 from Santa Ana, California; and 20 from Colorado Springs. This was only the start. The Advertising Federation of America, one of the groups to enter the current struggle early, claimed that popular articles had been placed in 2,000 newspapers and periodicals and that several hundred radio broadcasts had been arranged.²¹

"Treason in the Textbooks"

A high point came right after the appearance of the *American Legion Magazine* for September, 1940. It contained an article, "Treason in the Textbooks," by O. K. Armstrong, mainly on the Rugg books. It was followed by cancellation of approximately 400 orders involving 16,000 subscriptions to *Scholastic Magazine*, a journal listed as one of a group of 38 "objectionable" books and periodicals. (Two months later, the *American Legion Magazine* printed a retraction on this and 7 other periodicals and books on the list.)

In essence, the story of the Rugg books is the story of the introduction of the social engineering approach into all phases of government and community life, including education. The same point of view was illustrated in part by the New Deal, with its vast program of relief and construction activities involving national planning. President Hoover, too, had his agri-

cultural program, and he created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He had long been an advocate of public works plans to cushion depressions. Like earlier leaders, Hoover, in his "new economic era," expressed the ideal of an expanding, prosperous America with boundless opportunities for all. This ideal was not killed by the depression; in the minds of many it was accentuated.

"Frontier Thinkers"

It was this vision that Dr. Rugg taught. He saw in the frontier, with its rapid change from primitive wilderness to thriving farms and industry, the dynamic essence of America. He wrote and spoke as a prophet of the New America which would be built by "Frontier Thinkers."

Dr. Rugg²² said to the pupil:

You are an American living in a new civilization that gives you great opportunities. In less than two centuries your country has changed from a few scattered settlements along the eastern seaboard to a well-populated country of 3,000,000 square miles. In this time it has become the wealthiest country on earth. *Compared with other people of the world* the American people are physically comfortable. Practically all of them are healthy. Nearly all have enough to eat, a place to sleep and fairly good clothing to wear. . . .

In this book we are trying to help you to understand the world we live in today and how that world became what it is. It is not only possible for you to understand many of the difficult problems of our new civilization; it is possible also for you to help in solving them.

At the same time, Dr. Rugg added:

To do so, you should learn some of the important facts about the modern world. You should then form your opinion according to the facts you have learned. There is nothing needed more by America and the rest of the world today than citizens whose minds are *open to the consideration of all the facts*. Try, therefore, to keep an open mind about every problem that you study.

Probably the hardest attack of the early months of the current fight, in 1939, was that of the American Federation of Advertisers. This was based at first on the treatment of advertising in Dr. Rugg's *Introduction to the Problems of American Culture*. It was quickly taken up by other advertising groups, and by the bulletin of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. Then the attack was broadened and the whole Rugg series came to be condemned as subversive. The basis for this view was laid in a report by Alfred T. Falk, director of the Advertising Federation's Bureau of Research and Education, called "The Rugg Tech-

²¹ Circular letter sent out by Norman S. Rose, president of the American Federation of Advertisers.

²² Harold Rugg, *Our Country and Our People*, Ginn and Company, 1938, p. 86.

about 1928 when the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, financed by seven philanthropic foundations, started issuing its reports. The reports, which were completed in 1932, provided many facts useful for advocates of group medicine and health insurance, and the majority report recommended that "the costs of medical care be placed on a group-payment basis, through the use of insurance, through the use of taxation, or through the use of both of these methods." This was not to preclude the use of private service by those who preferred it.⁴⁵ In 1931 the Milbank Fund published the results of some health demonstrations in three New York State localities tending to show that expenditures for preventive medicine more than paid for themselves in lowered costs by reducing infant mortality and mortality from infectious diseases in general. The main public movement for group medicine and insurance apparently reached its peak in the National Health Conference in 1938, out of which grew the unpassed Wagner National Health Bill.

Criticism Inside the AMA

During this same period the AMA's policy began to receive considerable criticism from within the Association's own ranks. In 1937, Dr. Hugh Cabot, who, as mentioned before, was then chief consulting surgeon of the Mayo Clinic; Dr. Milton Winternitz, dean of the Yale Medical School from 1920 to 1935; and Dr. John Peters, a professor of medicine at Yale, all of whom were in professional and economic positions secure enough to defy the American Medical Association, published a symposium of opinion, *American Medicine*, indicating that the position of the AMA was not representative of the profession as a whole. This report received much favorable attention in the editorial columns of the newspapers around the country.⁴⁶ Dr. Cabot has expressed such views as those in his talk before the Housatonic Valley Conference in Falls Village, Conn., on August 5, 1941, in which he pointed to the extent of partially used X-ray facilities. These

expensive machines in private offices, he said, were often used only a few hours a day, and such waste, he added, had the effect of leaving a large section of the population without adequate care.

Another cause of dissatisfaction among many members of the AMA has been the difficulty of making an adequate living at their profession under existing circumstances. One of the few studies of this question—issued, it should be noted, at the bottom of the depression, in 1932—showed that a fourth of the doctors received less than \$2300 a year after paying their necessary office and other professional expenses.⁴⁷

Position Is Undermined

Meanwhile interest in group medicine was spurred by the growth of the hospital prepayment plans, which spread rapidly during the depression when it was necessary for the hospitals to enlist public support to replace dwindling funds from philanthropy. The sixty-six such plans now in existence around the country have a membership of 6,000,000, a tenfold growth in five years.⁴⁸

With the conservative victories in the Congressional and state elections of 1938 some of the movement for big national reforms subsided, and some of the propaganda activities of the medical societies eased off until the statistics about health as related to defense created a new agitation. But an even graver threat to the AMA came with the United States Supreme Court action in 1940. This action made it clear that the AMA's efforts to stamp out group medicine by expelling doctors who engaged in it could be prosecuted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The Group Health Association of Washington, D. C., which was assisted in organizing by the Twentieth Century Fund, in April, 1941, obtained from the federal court of the District of Columbia—in a Department of Justice prosecution—a conviction of the medical society under the act for expelling the physicians of the project and putting barriers in the way of their practicing. The case is going to be appealed.

⁴⁵ *Medical Care for the American People* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1932), p. 120.

⁴⁶ James Rorty, *American Medicine Mobilizes* (Norton, New York, 1939), p. 82.

⁴⁷ Maurice Leven, *The Incomes of Physicians*, Publication No. 24 of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1932) p. 30.

⁴⁸ Announcement of the Commission on Hospital Service, *New York Herald Tribune*, January 6, 1941.

The American Medical Association has now revised its policies somewhat. For the past two years it has included in its platform requests for the allotment of such funds as Congress may make available to any state in actual need for the prevention of disease and the promotion of health on proof of such need. It asks for the "extension of medical care for the indigent and the medically indigent with local determination of needs and local control of administration."⁴⁹ This represents a retreat from the earlier denial that the need existed.

At the same time some of the state branches of the AMA have been attempting to carry legislation through the state legislatures insuring that the state medical society shall exercise control of any group plans formed. Such an act was passed by the New Jersey State Legislature in 1940. It provides that

No person shall be elected a trustee of any medical service corporation unless his nomination has been approved by a recognized medical or professional medical organization having not less than 2,000 members holding licenses to practice medicine and which has been incorporated for a period of not less than 10 years. . . . No person, firm, association, or corporation other than a medical service corporation shall establish, maintain, or operate a medical service plan or any other means, agency, or device for contracting with persons to pay for medical service.⁵⁰

Signs of Yielding?

In 1938, the AMA approved in principle the formation of non-profit corporations to assist low-income groups to finance their sickness costs without subsidy and medical service plans controlled by the state medical societies have been started in New York, Ohio, Michigan and California. In California, where a strong group health movement has started, and in Michigan, where commercial insurance companies are active in the health field, the medical societies have advanced several thousand dollars each toward the operation of their plans. In New York State, where a Medical Expense Indemnity Assurance Corporation has been started in conformity with the Medical Society's views, one of the sponsors of the plan warned the doctors that unless the medical profession made a success of it, compulsory state medical insurance was likely.⁵¹ Some of

the plans have not had as large a public support as their sponsors originally hoped. One reason advanced is that the policies contain such clauses as that under the New York arrangement whereby a subscriber has to pay the first \$10 worth of doctors' bills, before the corporation will take over the remaining expenditures.⁵²

Meanwhile, several state branches of the AMA continue to issue propaganda against group medicine, and the National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service is continuing to express the long-held AMA point of view.

The Direction of the Drift

The outcome of the struggle over group medicine between the American Medical Association and the voluntary group and compulsory insurance plan advocates will depend more on changes in underlying social and economic conditions than on propaganda. The propaganda struggle is inevitable in a democracy, where the various groups are expected to contend for their interests. But the reception accorded a particular propaganda—in other words, the question of whether it "makes sense" to the public—depends on how far it meets, or seems to meet, current conditions.

Voluntary group plans, tax-supported medical care and compulsory insurance are ideas that result from three fundamental changes in American life. The first is the well-known shift from a predominantly rural society to one predominantly urban with a large group of industrial workers. This has brought large numbers of people within easy access of the doctor's office but has not provided them with funds to pay the costs of individual care.

The second fundamental change is in the growth of medical knowledge. During the past fifty years medicine has made enormous strides. As Dr. Hugh Cabot remarks in his book, *The Patient's Dilemma*, this fact is generally known, but the implications are ignored. One result is to change the role of the doctor. The specialist with detailed training is gaining in importance over the general practitioner with the good bedside manner. Group practice is becoming

⁴⁹ Quoted by Dr. Nathan B. Van Etten, President of the American Medical Association in "Preparedness Through Fitness," *Medical Care*, Winter, 1941, p. 40.

⁵⁰ Quoted in *Medical Care*, January, 1941, pp. 92-3.

⁵¹ *Buffalo Evening News*, January 16, 1941.

⁵² Final Report of the Committee on the Organization of a Medical Expense Indemnity Assurance Corporation, Adopted October 12, 1939, p. 35.

ing inevitable, the only question being what particular form it shall take.

The third change is that in public point of view resulting from scientific discoveries in medicine. The discovery that germs are responsible for many diseases is changing the ideas of responsibility for illness. Until recently we have been influenced by the ancient belief that illness was a punishment for sin; we are still much influenced by the fact that a large amount of illness is the result of individual excesses. However, we also know today that a disease that begins in the slums may, because of germs, spread through an entire city or even a country. Therefore the idea has grown up that the control of infectious diseases is the responsibility of the whole community through the appropriate government agency. A considerable amount of preventive medical work is already undertaken by governmental agencies. Likewise the newer knowledge about nutrition has modified some of our thinking about the individual's responsibility for success or failure in life. Before these and similar scientific discoveries we used to believe that a person's success or failure depended mainly on will to work. Now we know that this will to work is in large part the result of environmental conditions, such as the amount of nourishing food available, which are often beyond the control of the individual. Here again the opinion gradually gains ground that the community should supervise health enough to see that its members receive the nourishment needed to make them effective citizens.

Experience Changes Opinions

These important changes in American life indicate that some readjustments, whatever the kind, are going to be made in medical practice. Earlier reforms of a similar character have met as vigorous opposition as the changes being proposed today, and when ultimately adopted have become extremely popular. Such a case is the Workmen's Compensation Act in this country, providing compensation in case of injury in industry. It was widely opposed by employers when it was proposed, but they have been pleased with the results. Among other benefits, it has reduced the costs of accidents to industry. Great Britain has had a similar experience with socialized medicine. It was opposed by the British Medical Association, but

once it was passed the Association officially came to favor it and, while many members make criticisms, the Association now stands ready to ask Parliament to extend and improve the act.

The role of propaganda in this situation is a double one. It can serve the groups on both sides of the controversy. So long as there is a free play of propaganda and neither side is able to shut the other off by artificial devices the struggle will only affect the rate of change. The fundamental interests of the population will determine how far the change goes, and where.

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How the Devices Work

WHEN a piece of propaganda is analyzed the elements seem so simple that we wonder why it works. The answer lies in the first place in the way our ideas and prejudices develop, and secondly in the problem which everyone faces in making decisions in a complex world.

These two factors are seen at work in the principal propaganda devices being used in the struggle over types of medical care. One device commonly used is *name-calling*. Advocates of group medical plans describe the present individual fee-for-service system as "hit-or-miss." Upholders of the present system describe group medical plans and kindred projects as attempts to "Russianize" medical care. In each case the plan opposed by the propagandist is linked with another idea which people have been taught to reject. By finding the right name, the propagandist often accomplishes his purpose, turning us against what he opposes without our investigating to see whether the facts bear out his name.

While no psychological experiments have established definitely how a person's mind works when ideas are linked in this way, it appears that people become conditioned to react to certain words and ideas just as Pavlov's dog was taught to expect food whenever he heard a bell ring. After the bell and the food became associated in the dog's mind the dog's saliva would start flowing when he heard the bell ring. It has been shown by other experiments that this reaction is built up—psychologists say *reinforced*—by being rewarded. When the food stopped coming each time the bell rang the reaction gradually died out. People get social approval by opposing the "hit-or-miss" or anything that fits the word "Russianized" and this fact apparently explains the effectiveness of these words in *name-calling*.

In the long run, however, the effectiveness of the names depends on how they fit the facts of experience. If the rewards do not continue the reaction will be modified.

A second device commonly used comes under the general heading of *card-stacking*. Most people who become carried away by a cause show other people only the cards that support the cause. They simplify the issues, stressing the good features and omitting the bad, or vice versa. Statistics make the favorite weapon for this purpose. Since in most matters about which there is controversy, there will be both good and bad aspects, this is easy. *Card-stacking* has the same effect as *name-calling*. It presents a situation to which most people react in the way the propagandist wants.

The third propaganda device used in the medical controversy is *transfer*. This is a very common way of influencing opinion. We are all confronted from childhood up with the necessity of making decisions on matters about which we could make up our own minds only after much study and thought. The problem of making these decisions brings on *anxiety*, which we resolve in most cases by laying the question before someone in a position of authority. This process starts with our parents and later extends to other persons of experience in the community. So people come to rely on authority. The propagandist induces persons of authority to back his side in a controversy and thus *transfers* their authority to his cause. The rest of us are apt to follow whichever authorities we have learned to respect. This Bulletin shows how the American Medical Association is *transferring* the authority and prestige of the family doctor to their side of the medical controversy, while the group medicine advocates are enlisting men and women of eminence in various fields to endorse their efforts.

A CORRECTION

On page 8 of the Bulletin, "Negroes Ask About Democracy," the Institute spoke of the National Negro Congress as claiming 3000 local councils. The reference should have been not to local councils but to affiliated organizations.

MAR 2 1942

Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

211 FOURTH AVENUE: NEW YORK, N. Y.

Volume IV

Number 12

Youth Propagandists and the War

OUT of the conference of student leaders entertained by Mrs. Roosevelt at Campobello, N. B., has come a new youth magazine, *Threshold*, publication of the International Student Service. In the first issue, dated October, 1941, the leading article, entitled, "If I Were a Freshman," was contributed by Mrs. Roosevelt.

She seeks only to "make suggestions to those who are facing the last years of preparation before taking their full responsibility as citizens in a Democracy." But her article symbolizes the generally more active participation of adults in youth affairs today. The International Student Service, which she is aiding now, differs in many ways from the American Youth Congress, which she aided formerly, and one of the main differences is the greater degree of adult consultation and guidance envisaged by the Student Service.

Adults are more interested in youth opinion today than formerly, for two reasons. First, youth has been seriously divided on the war, and especially its opinion appears to be lagging behind that of the grown-ups. Second, the many charges that such large youth groups as the American Youth Congress and its principal affiliate, the American Student Union, show Communist influence, have alarmed many of the elders. The somewhat unorthodox economic opinions held by many youths in such organizations did not appear too serious in peace time, but with the coming of the war they grew in importance. The young people are the principal sources for the Army and the auxiliary services. Consequently there has been an intensification of adult interest.

This increase of activities is seen on the part both of adults interested in the all-out-aid policy and of those opposing any participation in the war. The result is that an intense propaganda campaign particularly on the war issue is now in progress among young people. It is seen on many college campuses, among religious groups, and among those in which the minority political parties are active. Much of it is designed to convince youth on one side or the other regarding the war. Much of it also is designed to develop a youth movement more in harmony with prevailing economic views.

The present Bulletin shows the propaganda among youth regarding the war, and the evolution of the youth movement from its main growth in the early 1930's to the present time.

I. STRUGGLE OVER THE WAR

Opinion among youth in general has been found by the Gallup polls to be much the same as that of the adults. On the college campuses, however, where young people have to a considerable degree a community life of their own, their opinion shows marked differences from that of adults. Since many college men of today will be future Army officers, these differences are important. Consequently special attention is paid by the grown-ups to winning campus opinion.

At present, opinion among college youth appears to be running behind that of the rest of the country as regards the war. The last Gallup poll of general opinion in which the public was asked to say whether it thought the U. S. would go in or stay out of the war

showed 82 per cent believing we would go in. This was in April, 1941. The last sampling of student opinion, taken by the Student Opinion Polls, whose editor is Joe Belden of the University of Texas, was being tabulated at the end of October; it showed only about 60 per cent of the students believing the U. S. would go in. Three-quarters thought it more important to stay out and help Hitler's enemies. (Eighty-one per cent had opposed the Selective Service Act in February, 1940.) But there was nearly an even division of opinion on repealing the Neutrality Act to allow U. S. ships to take cargoes to Britain. The majority was slightly against. Even here student opinion was behind adult opinion. A Gallup poll of general opinion, announced on October 23, showed 54 per cent favoring repeal, 37 per cent opposed, and 9 per cent undecided.

The result indicated that student sentiment for all-out aid is crystallizing, although slowly. The 60 per cent now believing we will be drawn

in compares with 51 per cent who thought so in February, 1941. *Time* for October 13, 1941 carried reports of the changing sentiment of college editors, as the new term opened, in Princeton, Harvard, the University of Wisconsin, University of Kansas, University of Iowa, University of Missouri, University of Minnesota, Northwestern, Stanford, and Cornell. Yale's chairman of the *News* editorial board, is still isolationist, *Time* reported, but he will be succeeded in January by an ardent interventionist. The University of Chicago *Maroon* was interventionist last year and still is. The *Daily Pennsylvanian* of the University of Pennsylvania opened the 1941 Fall term with an editorial declaring "We urge war." After "careful and business-like deliberation by some of those who will do the fighting," the student editors said, they had decided the time had come to choose sides for "the America of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln" as against "an America of Nye, Lindbergh and Coughlin."

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of Propaganda Analysis, published monthly at New York, New York, for October 1, 1941. State of New York, County of New York. Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Alfred McC. Lee, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Executive Director of the Propaganda Analysis and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Institute for Propaganda Analysis, 211 4th Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Editor: Clyde Beals, 211 4th Avenue, New York, New York.

Managing Editor: None.

Business Manager: Alfred McC. Lee, 211 4th Avenue, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc., a non-profit membership organization, incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware for educational and scientific purposes. (There is no stock). Kirtley F. Mather, President, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. F. Ernest Johnson, Vice-President Teachers' College, 525 W. 120th St., New York, N. Y. Clyde R. Miller, Secretary of the Board, Teachers' College, 525 W. 120th St., New York, N. Y. Alfred McC. Lee, Executive Director, 211 4th Ave., New York, N. Y.

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4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ALFRED McC. LEE, Executive Director.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of Sept. 1941.

(Seal) JACOB J. JESELNICK
(My commission expires March 30, 1943.)

Propaganda Analysis

Published Monthly by the

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The switch was of course not universal. The *Heights Daily News* of New York University switched from an interventionist platform to one opposing American entry. Criticizing the *Time* article in its October 16, 1941, editorial, it remarked "judging from our exchanges, we believe that the colleges are still the strongest foes of intervention in the country today."

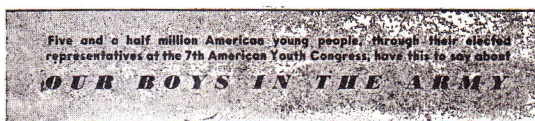
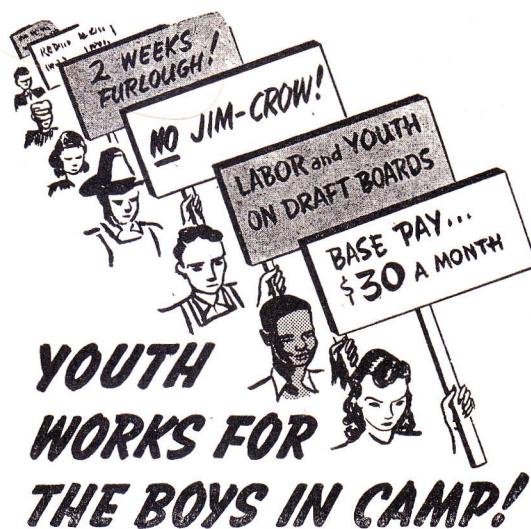
Replies to a random sampling of activities by the Institute show that organized discussion of U. S. war policies on the campuses is limited, though informal arguments undoubtedly are numerous. Out of fifteen colleges from which reports were received, only five had active organized student discussion going on. These were Pennsylvania, Northwestern (Evanston, Ill.) and Wisconsin Universities, and Hunter and City Colleges in New York City. On five campuses, Brown (Providence, R. I.), Wellesley, Yale, Amherst and Milwaukee State Teachers College, some organized discussion, but not much, was going on. On five others, Bennington (Bennington, Vt.), Skidmore (Saratoga Springs, N. Y.), Hampton Institute (Hampton, Va.), Beloit (Beloit, Wis.) and Marquette (Milwaukee, Wis.), no organized groups were promoting discussion.

Thus from the standpoint of the propagandists for all-out aid or active intervention, student opinion is not crystallizing rapidly enough. From the standpoint of the opponents of intervention it is slipping away from them.

Youth's Own Little War

The propaganda struggle to convert youth to one opinion or another regarding the war is a three-cornered one, fought not only with arguments about the war, but also with economic and social programs. The prestige won through advancing a widely desired economic program apparently helps to win followings for the various positions on the war.

The struggle is three-cornered because youth groups from both the interventionist and the anti-interventionist sides attack the two storm centers of the youth movement, the American Youth Congress and the American Student Union. These two organizations, long accused of being under Communist influence, switched their policies on the war when Germany attacked Russia. The ASU strongly urged all-out



New Youth Congress Program

In supporting the war, the Congress is agitating for Army reforms.

aid; the AYC backed it by implication. The remaining youth groups saw the change as further evidence of Communist influence.

The Youth Congress, claiming a membership of 5,463,760 through its affiliated organizations, is the largest youth group favoring aid to Hitler's enemies, now that it has taken that side. The invasion of Soviet Russia by Germany presented it with a serious problem. It met from July 3 to 6, 1941, in Philadelphia. Six hours of debate were spent in reaching a decision, the Young Communist League urging immediate American intervention in the war, while the religious, pacifist, and student Christian groups opposed any pro-war resolution. Ultimately a compromise was reached which, while it does not urge a declaration of war, pledges "cooperation with the people of Britain and the Soviet Union who are fighting to end the Hitler threat of World conquest." After the sessions the Congress issued a pamphlet on the cover of which is the statement, "We pledge to end the threat of Hitler and Hitlerism in every form."

The Youth Congress continues to offer an economic program intended to make it the

spokesman for the great majority of youth. In *The Pulse*, a pamphlet published by its National Health Commission on August 17, 1941, there is this comment on the conclusions reached in the Philadelphia meeting:

There can be no anti-Hitler front in this country without the strengthening of our democratic traditions. The end of discrimination and segregation in the armed forces and in industry; a lower cost of living; Federal health and housing legislation—for these the youth of America are fighting; these are the struggles on the home front.

The American Student Union, claiming 20,000 members, is a leading affiliate of the Youth Congress. The officers of the ASU at the New York headquarters told an Institute interviewer unhesitatingly that their own position regarding the war changed on June 22, 1941, the day Germany invaded Russia. The ASU National Executive Committee adopted its new position unanimously in Philadelphia on July 7. It argued, however, that the German invasion represented a fundamental change in the world situation. In a statement of its position it pointed out that it was now no longer possible to end the war without crushing Hitler. Before, it said,

with the Soviet Union, a great neutral military power striding the continents of Europe and Asia, outside the war, the American people had the opportunity to collaborate with the Russian people and the other anti-fascist peoples to end the imperialistic war and thus to stop Hitler by bringing the war to a close through a just, people's peace.

The statement sought to justify the ASU's course and place the blame for the present world situation on the original "appeasers":

How profoundly is it proved today that our program has at every turn spoken out in defense of America. How treacherous before history is the role of those who sought to "appease" fascism, who, without regard for the welfare of their own peoples wilfully gave over position after position to the fascist Axis, seeking to use Hitler against militant democracy everywhere, trusting that he would use the power they gave him only against the Soviet Union.

When It Hits, It Hits Hard

The ASU's new program seeks to make scapegoats of the leading college opponents of intervention. The announcement of forthcoming features for its paper, *Student Advocate*, promises one on, "Appeasement Goes to College," asserting that three leading college presidents, Hutchins of Chicago, MacCracken of Vassar, and Ruthven of the University of Michigan,

"carry Quisling's banner onto the campus." The *Student Advocate* is now as busy trying to lead in the support of war activities as it formerly was in trying to lead the opposition to them. Its program announcement also promises, "Students Say Yes to the USO: a picture story of what happened in Chicago when students took over the recreation center for the boys in the Army." Other articles show the ASU's interest in Negro and Christian youth. The paper also promises to deal with problems of education during the crisis.

A new youth organization designed to supplant the American Student Union and work for "all necessary aid" for "Great Britain and all other nations resisting aggression" is the Student Defenders of Democracy, which has been started with important adult assistance. Some aid in organizational problems has come from the Council for Democracy, an adult organization promoting practical demonstrations of democracy at work. The Council is concerned mainly with domestic affairs, but has agreed to support the foreign policy as enunciated by the President and Congress. The Student Defenders of Democracy are also on close terms with Fight for Freedom, Inc., the leading adult pro-intervention group.

A Rival Pro-War Group

The Student Defenders are organizing members around fairly comprehensive foreign and domestic policies. In the foreign sphere, it favors not only aid to Britain and to Russia—"in spite of the fact that we are uncompromisingly opposed to her Stalin Government"—but also condemns "any appeasement" for Japan, wants Latin American cooperation with "every precaution taken against charges of 'Yankee Imperialism,'" and urges extensive discussion of the requirements of peace to insure "an equitable distribution of the world's natural resources, the possibilities of a world federation, etc."

For its domestic policy the SDD advocates "political democracy" including elimination of the poll taxes and refusal of government contracts to industries violating the Wagner Labor Relations Act, a broad program of economic democracy including such steps as helping to organize "domestics and other groups



Name-calling By Cartoon

Gene Tunney's National Foundation for American Youth uses drawings like this to attack the American Youth Congress. The cartoon appears in the pamphlet, "How to Stop the Junior Fifth Column."

of labor which still have little or no bargaining power," and opposing race discrimination.

The SDD has already made considerable headway. Starting in January, 1941, with a nucleus of 15 students, members of the Town Hall Clubs at Harvard, Smith, New York University, Notre Dame and Oberlin, it obtained 2000 additional members in its first semester. Chapters are claimed on 143 campuses. The SDD is now working on a plan to enlarge by drawing other groups into a federation.

Among pro-intervention groups whose propaganda reaches youth in important amounts is the labor movement. Many of its members are young, particularly in the new CIO unions. One of these, the United Office and Professional Workers, whose 30,000 members are predominantly in their early twenties, has changed from opposition to support of all-out aid. The United Retail and Wholesale Employees with 100,000 mostly young members has supported the war as an international union but had opposition from some locals. The international officers predict that this opposition will now diminish. While the CIO has been torn over the war, and while John L. Lewis, its founder and former president, is still opposing all-out aid,

many of the leaders of its affiliates have indicated their conversion since the invasion of Russia. Combined with the groups previously convinced, they may be well in the majority at the 1941 convention. The AFL at its 1941 convention strongly supported all-out aid.

The anti-war camp is made up of youth groups that oppose war either on religious, liberal, or left-wing political grounds. There are no large isolationist youth groups advocating an impregnable defense system along the lines of the America First arguments.

The most active youth organization opposing the war is the Youth Committee Against War, an affiliate of the Keep America Out of War Congress. The YCAW began as a federation of student, religious, socialist, and labor groups opposed to war in principle. No longer a federation, it has during the past year sought members of its own on college campuses, among cooperatives and among locals of a few trade unions such as the United Automobile Workers and the Aluminum Workers. It claims that delegates representing approximately 1,400,000 young people attended its last National Youth Anti-War Congress held in Madison, Wis., a center of youth anti-war sentiment, in December, 1940. The national organizations represented at the sessions included the National Council of Methodist Youth, the Student Peace Service (a Quaker group), and the Young Peoples Socialist League.

Slogans Against the War

The YCAW raises the slogan "War Crushes Democracy." Adopting the formula held also by the Socialists that "Militarism and imperialism are two of the main forces preventing a peaceful world," they argue that war hysteria is destroying civil rights and the rights of labor. They cite in their pamphlets the anti-strike bills pending in Congress, and assert, for example, that "In a large California university any student disagreeing with the Government's program is threatened with immediate dismissal."

Their September bulletin, a mimeographed publication, *Youth Action* announces the beginning of a campaign for "Four Freedoms for the Campus." Besides academic freedom and freedom from racial discrimination, this

demands "Freedom from insecurity: adequate National Youth Administration appropriations . . . and jobs for students," and "Freedom from Militarism: No ROTC; NYA free of military program; . . . conscription repeal." The YCAW has made a bid for labor and liberal support through such statements as

How do we preserve our democratic way of life by sacrificing the elements that compose democracy? Suppression in the guise of "national unity" is directed at labor organizations, political and racial minorities, student organizations and the foreign born.¹

Religious Anti-War Youth

The religious pacifist groups are less known, but represent a solid anti-war segment of not inconsiderable size and influence.² The three pacifist churches in the United States are the Mennonites, Church of the Brethren, and the Friends, more popularly known as the Quakers. The Brethren and the Friends conduct special youth groups. The Fellowship of Reconciliation is an interdenominational group with an equally strong pacifist program. Finally during recent years the National Conference of Methodist Youth, with 1,400,000 members, has taken an increasingly pacifist stand.

The Catholic Church, the largest single religious body in the United States, has not taken any official position on American participation in the war, stating that this is a matter for the individual priest or layman to decide. The trend of Catholic opinion can perhaps be judged by the fact that of the ten big Catholic papers four favor the Administration's policy of aid to Britain and Russia, while the other six and virtually all of the hundred-odd small ones are violently anti-Soviet. The opposition to Russia has become more vocal since the invasion of that country by Nazi Germany. The Newman Club at Columbia University gave an ovation to Hamilton Fish, the isolationist Congressman, while his opponent received hostile treatment. The other Newman Clubs are not reported as active, or else are discussing a less controversial subject, such as the one at Hunter College, in New York City, which is now turning its attention to the problems of marriage.

¹ *We Choose Democracy*, Proceedings of the Fourth National Youth Anti-War Congress. December, 1940.

² Their propaganda is discussed more at length in "Religious Propaganda against the War," *Propaganda Analysis*, IV, 3, January 25, 1941.

The anti-intervention side includes also the small Fascist and Nazi youth movement. These have never gained many adherents in this country, despite the large number of German and Italian immigrants. However, within all immigrant colonies there are often small groups of adults actively at work to further the nationalist aims of the parent country, and these found youth groups to carry on these aims. The founders stress the language and nationalist traditions of the original homeland. As a rule they do not have much success. The pressure of school and daily contacts makes English the preferred language of the younger generation, to whom the problems of some European country often seem remote.

According to a press release of the anti-Fascist Mazzini Society of June 23, 1941, there were at that time more than thirty-three after-school groups propagandizing among American children of Italian extraction in the New York area. Probably the number was reduced after the closing of the Italian and German consulates, but the sentiments may remain.

The German American Bund, of course strongly isolationist, still maintains a youth section, though undoubtedly it is very small. In 1938 a leader of the organization, then called the Deutsche Jugendschaft, estimated that the total youth membership throughout the country was in the neighborhood of 2000. Today the group will not give out figures.

II. RISE AND EVOLUTION

The significance of the youthful propagandist organizations and of the multiplication of them in the last few years can best be seen by reviewing the factors that brought them into existence and have influenced them since their rise in the early 1930's.

The American Youth Congress, the nearest to a broad youth movement to have developed in America, is a child of the depression that began in 1929. How the depression hit youth was indicated in 1935 by Aubrey Williams, Executive Director of the National Youth Administration. He estimated at that time that between 5,000,000 and 8,000,000 young people between the ages of 16 and 25 were wholly unemployed. Three million, he said, were known to be on relief.³ An American Youth Commission in-

³ *New York Times*, October 12, 1935.

quiry indicated that three quarters of the youth of the country were aware that the problem of youth was more than an individual one. Over half of those questioned said it was economic.⁴

The impetus toward founding the Youth Congress did not come from persons most severely hit by the depression, the sons and daughters of unskilled laborers, but from a relatively well-to-do group of intellectuals. This is fairly typical of protest movements, which are often led by individuals who have less reason for protest than their followers. In 1932, Miss Viola Ilma, the child of a Swiss father and an American mother, who had lived a life sheltered from the effects of the depression, became impressed with the number of her friends just out of college who were unable to find jobs, and the "utter discouragement and . . . personal disintegration," under which they suffered. Becoming familiar with the youth movement of the German National Socialist Party, she and a group of acquaintances decided to start a congress, and sent out invitations widely. She acted on the principle, as she says, of "all youth against the older generation." She invited groups without thought of their varying points of view. One of her associates comments:

In trying to be tactful in uniting all sorts of groups we played with fire that finally burned our fingers. When we invited the left, the right shuddered. When we invited the right, the left snickered.⁵

First Grown-Up Supporters

Mrs. Roosevelt, Vice President Henry Wallace (then Secretary of Agriculture), Aubrey Williams, later executive director of the National Youth Administration, and other prominent persons interested themselves in the effort. Money was raised through approaches to Miss Anne Morgan, Ogden Mills, Secretary of the Treasury under Harding, and others.

On August 15, 1934, the Congress opened with approximately 500 delegates present. As soon as the opening speeches from adult dignitaries were over, the Congress fell into chaos. Several organizations under the leadership of Waldo McNutt of the Rocky Mountain YMCA sought to oust Miss Ilma from the chair and replace her with an elected chairman. The

Congress broke up with McNutt leading the most articulate group of delegates and Miss Ilma another.

McNutt's group won the right to remain in the meeting hall and continue as the Congress. This first session demanded an enlarged program of public education, free from racial discrimination; the abolition of the Reserve Officers Training Corps and the Citizens Military Training Corps; and the end of "army control" over the Civilian Conservation Corps. It voted to boycott the Olympic Games in Berlin and to condemn war and fascism. On the economic side it recommended the development of means of reemployment and social insurance.

Agitation and a Result

The organizational difficulties, and the expressions of economic discontent and idealism present at the first Congress, have been characteristic of the AYC since that date. Its economic program of increased educational and employment opportunities for youth has been the cement that has held many diverse groups together and enabled the Congress to continue.

The Congress has been mainly an agitational group and as such its effect is difficult to estimate. It is credited with having been instrumental in moving President Roosevelt to establish the National Youth Administration with an allotment of \$50,000,000 of WPA funds in June, 1935. This was just before the second convention of the Congress. The Congress agitated for a \$500,000,000 appropriation, insisting that the NYA was inadequate. While its bill for the purpose failed, the NYA funds were continued. Although the NYA and the Youth Congress have not been on friendly terms recently, there may be some significance to the fact that, now that the Youth Congress influence is low, the NYA is being attacked as trying to maintain its position and "keeping young people out of the draft." The defense boom has provided an opportunity to question the usefulness of some of the reforms of the earlier part of the Roosevelt regime. In any event, membership of 5,463,760 claimed by the Congress would mean that it had reached more than a fourth of the 21,000,000 persons between the ages of 16 and 25. The membership figure,

⁴ Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story* (American Council on Education, Washington, 1938), p. 250.

⁵ Viola Ilma, *And Now—Youth* (Ballou Press, New York, 1934), p. 20.

incidentally, indicates that the Communist members are in a small minority. About the highest figure claimed for the total Communist membership in the United States is 100,000, a figure including adults.

The Congress was a part of the broad liberal and labor reform movement of the depression years. It reached such prominence that its February, 1940, Convention in Washington, attended by 5000 persons, was the occasion of a spectacular clash between President Roosevelt and John L. Lewis, the CIO leader. Mr. Roosevelt, whose Administration up to then had been accused of radicalism, gave the Congress a "spanking" for its radical resolutions, while Mr. Lewis invited it to join his Labor's Non-Partisan League.

A Youth Bill of Complaints

The American Student Union, which shares the attacks made upon the Youth Congress, is composed of chapters in various colleges and universities, principally state universities. It claims 20,000 members, located mainly in the Northeast. A Student Opinion Poll in March, 1940, found that slightly less than half of the college youth knew of its existence.

The American Student Union like the Youth Congress grew out of the depression. It was formed in 1935 by some 300 delegates of liberal campus groups. It adopted an economic program pledged to

support all efforts to raise the American standard of living, essential to which is the organization of workers, manual and white collar, into legitimate trade unions. These economic objectives for which the Union will relentlessly fight—student relief, employment, security,—are elementary, reasonable human rights; we declare that a society which cannot find places for its young people, except in work camps and on battlefields, stands condemned.

This criticism of American life was not likely to go unchallenged. Three important efforts have arisen to bring the Youth Congress and the American Student Union into greater conformity with prevailing ideas. The first is an attempt to destroy the two groups by *name-calling*—labelling them Communist and convicting them of having aims at variance with American traditions. In 1939 just before the Youth Congress met, Murray Plavner, after other efforts to win leadership in youth organi-

zations, received big headlines by issuing a pamphlet, "Here Are the Facts. Is the American Youth Congress a Communist Front?" The pamphlet, sponsored by Gene Tunney, Homer L. Chaillaux, Chairman of the Americanism Committee of the American Legion, Victor Ridder, publisher of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, and others, contained many "documentary proofs" that the Congress was dominated by the Young Communist League. Among the alleged proofs are reproductions of the Congress program of 1939 showing that it was printed in a plant that also printed Communist literature. Scattered through the pamphlet is the statement that "A Communist United-Front organization can be identified in the following manner: There is always a plank against Fascism, BUT NEVER AGAINST COMMUNISM." As a result of this attack a strong bloc in the Congress presented a resolution which read in part:

Be it resolved that this Congress of Youth record its opposition to all forms of dictatorship, regardless of whether they be Communist, Fascist, Nazi, or any other type.

Although the resolution was attacked as "jingoistic" by representatives of the Youth Committee Against War, a group that has since seceded from the AYC to become one of the leading anti-war youth groups, it was adopted unanimously except for one abstaining vote.

The attack continues, being personally financed by Mr. (now Lieutenant-Commander) Tunney. Mr. Plavner has issued another pamphlet, on *How to Stop the Junior Fifth Column*, which is in the same vein.

To Give Instead of Ask

Along with these and other attacks the Tunney-Plavner group has criticized what it calls the "gimme" attitude of the American Youth Congress. The Tunney-Plavner program and statements emphasize duty to the government and discipline rather than pressure methods. In early September, 1941 the group adopted the name of United Youth for Defense and arranged to enroll young people for Civilian Defense work. The enrollment began on October 16, with a gala rally at a large New York hotel, addressed by Paul V. McNutt, Federal Security Administrator; Brig. General Lewis B. Hershey, director of the Selective

Service System; Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., and Lieut. Comdr. Tunney.

General Hershey emphasized that democracy demands acceptance of responsibility by each of its citizens. Enrollees promise to devote "an hour a day to the U. S. A." in such varied tasks as rescue and demolition work and the combatting of fifth column activities.

The second important attempt to lead youth into paths of conformity is that of the International Student Service, which Mrs. Roosevelt and a group of prominent liberals are now sponsoring. Whereas the Tunney-Plavner group set out to destroy the Youth Congress and the ASU, the ISS set out to steal its thunder by setting up a new program of social objectives.

Mrs. Roosevelt turned against the Youth Congress after it began opposing the war following the Russo-German pact. A story in New York *PM* about her Campobello conference of the International Student Service said, "What broke her heart was the way Youth Congress members and others changed their liberal, anti-fascist opinions after the Nazi-Soviet pact."⁶

Her new project is just about opposite in character to the American Youth Congress. The Congress stresses the danger of fascism as a malign force threatening to suppress popular rights not only abroad but here; the new ISS stresses a "fighting faith" in democracy. The Congress demands national reforms to meet what it asserts are youth needs; the ISS stresses service by youth to the community. The Congress stands for a revolt of youth against the supposed mistakes of the elders; the ISS stresses the development of youth leaders in close association with elders.

Work for the Nation

The ISS hopes to develop a more enduring faith in the "democratic way." To do so it is starting out by training leaders for "effective citizenship in this democracy." This has been adopted as the new program of the ISS. The Service

understands by this term the happy realization on this continent of the most cherished human hopes. Men have come here to be free. They attained that end by developing the "American way of life." In due process, they created an American tradition. The fruits of that

tradition are in danger. How to safeguard them is the ultimate task of ISS. To that end it has devised [its] machinery.

The ISS is going to inculcate ideas of useful work in youth. Mrs. Roosevelt's idea, expressed in February, 1941, to a delegation of ISS members, that boys and girls should give a year's service to the nation, has been adopted in part by the ISS. It calls for students to spend summers in work camps. The "Work Camp Notes" of the *ISS Bulletin* for April, 1941, said:

They won't build a Grand Coulee this summer but in five communities east of the Mississippi students will build playgrounds, craft centers, dams, lakes, and children's camps. In this way voluntary work camps will, in small but growing measure, increase the recreational, educational, and health facilities of the nation. And in return the students will have a chance to live amid new and unfamiliar surroundings, meet problems of which they were previously unaware, and absorb some new understanding of the nation in which they live.

With Adult Guidance

Also, instead of youth going largely its own way with only chance adult assistance, the ISS is going to bring its young people together with older people including the administrators of the colleges where it has centers. For the Campobello meeting, what *Time* called "White House favorites" were prominent as speakers and advisers—Dr. William Allen Neilson, President-emeritus of Smith College, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, and Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish. The General Secretary is Joseph P. Lash, who was the first executive secretary of the American Student Union—having been at that time a Socialist.

The third important effort to bring youth into line, and specifically to generate enthusiasm for the all-out aid policy, is the Student Defenders of Democracy. It is connected with the ISS, whose General Secretary, Mr. Lash, is a member of its board. It offers the very specific program of social reforms already outlined, including many of the same reforms for which the Youth Congress and the American Student Union agitate.

The American Student Union apparently early regarded it as a threat and its paper, *The Student Advocate*, attacked it in a lengthy article in its March 1, 1941 issue. The article was headed, "SDD Program Revealed as Fraud. Seeks to Put Campus in War Camp." The article declared that the program amounted to

⁶ *PM's Weekly*, July 27, 1941.

words without action. The Student Defenders had then been organized not much more than a month. The *Young Communist Review* for March 17, 1941 also attacked the Defenders and the Defenders paid them both back in their paper *SOS*, for August 11, 1941. "ASU and YCL," its front-page banner line said, "Do Flip Flop When Nazis Attack Russia. Reds Now Aid Democracy but Are Future Enemies." The YCL is the Young Communist League.

What will be the next turn in the youth movement? One possible indication is seen in the experience of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in the fall of 1941. As a result of its Williamstown Institute of Human Relations of this year, at which a separate youth round table was conducted for the first time, a two-day meeting of the conference's Brooklyn Youth Round Table was held in mid-October. The subject was "Youth and Religion in a Democratic Society." It was attended by 350 young people, mostly delegates of Brooklyn youth organizations. The Conference was amazed at the size of the gathering. It concluded that the youth groups had heard so much talk of "radicalism" that they were turning to a religious affiliation for security. The Conference is calling the attention of its representatives in other cities to the interest and suggesting the possibility of similar meetings.

Why a Youth Movement?

As the foregoing pages show, the movement of youth in the United States consists of many diverse groups. The number of them arises from two main factors. The first is the lack for millions of young people of any recognized niche in the American economic organization to which they go more or less automatically. While the country was predominantly rural they could look to a life on the farm. While enterprise was small and rapidly expanding they could go into business with their fathers; or at least their parents or family friends could help them find places. Today there are few youths who can look to their economic future without serious concern.

The second factor causing the diversity of youth movements is the conflict and competition of ideals current among adults as to what young people should do in time of war. It is

significant that both the remedies for the economic problem of youth and the attitudes concerning war reflect the thinking of various well-recognized adult groups, religious as well as political. The youth movements grow out of the conflict in the adult world, and are a special part of the problems facing all members of society. The grown-ups are competing for the loyalties of youth and attempting to pass on a wide variety of irreconcilable traditions.

Whether this confused state of affairs will continue depends partly on the place found for youth in our economic structure and also on the more general problem of the conflicts of opinion in the adult world. The defense boom has improved the economic situation of youth. It is of course impossible to predict how long this trend will continue.

A Government Responsibility?

It is even more difficult to say how rapidly the present conflict of opinions will settle. In the past, societies have tended to bring opinions into considerable conformity. The totalitarian countries have been ironing out some of the internal conflicts that give rise to conflicts of opinion. All of the totalitarian countries claim to have solved the unemployment problem, though in ways repugnant to most Americans. In all cases the solution has been combined with the organization of youth into a single recognized movement with strong emphasis on indoctrination with the ideals of the rulers. Germany has her Hitlerjugend, Italy the Balilla and the Avanguardisti, and Soviet Russia the Young Pioneers and the Comsomols. These are all government controlled. As yet the United States has nothing to correspond to these groups. However, the increasing financial difficulties faced by private agencies dealing with youth is leading the government to take an increasing role in administering and supporting such agencies, as is stressed by a report to be published soon by the American Youth Commission. This indicates that the possibility of a government controlled movement cannot be ruled out of the picture. Failing some change in the economic situation, it seems likely that there will be increasing pressure for conformity, with some such solution being prominently offered.

How the Devices Work

ONE of the most common devices in youth propaganda is the *glittering generality*. This is seen in the great extent to which the leading youth groups rely on appeals in the name of "democracy" and "rights of youth." The American Youth Congress began its career by drawing up a Declaration of Rights of American Youth. Both the anti-interventionist Youth Committee Against War and the interventionist Student Defenders of Democracy stress the "rights" of draftees to higher pay and participation in our "democratic way of life."

While the words "rights" and "democracy" have definite meanings, as they are commonly used by propagandists they dull rather than satisfy our judgment. They are words that have come to be surrounded with what William Graham Sumner called "pathos," an aura or "glamor of sentiment" which protects the situation described from any real examination.

An example is seen in the statement of Joseph P. Lash, General Secretary of the International Student Service, in the first issue of *Threshold*:

The issue in this war is whether any institution, any private interest, or the state itself is to prevail over the rights of every man and woman to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

This makes the defense of the "rights" dependent on the war. On the other hand, the anti-interventionists say that to go into the war would destroy our rights. "Rights" is a convenient word for any propagandist because we so seldom ask what our "rights" are and how we come to have them. One sociologist demonstrated this fact by asking, does a man facing a tiger with only his bare hands have a right to life? In other words, our rights depend upon the kind of society we make. Since both sides are using the same *glittering generalities* it is evident that both sides are seeking emotional reactions more than thought.

A second characteristic that makes *glittering generalities* effective is their very familiarity. They express socially approved ideals. This approbation and familiarity can be used by the agitator to bring converts to the cause who would ordinarily fear to oppose the currently sanctioned opinion. Thus the 1940 *Proceedings* of the Youth Committee Against War says:

Essential for a lasting world peace is the substitution of an intelligent international outlook for blind nationalism, thereby helping to further some form of democratic world government, not dominated by the economic interest of any one nation or group of nations.

This statement undoubtedly represents the aspirations of large numbers of people today but overlooks the many pre-conditions needed to make the plan possible. The addition of the word "democratic" makes the whole concept seem plausible and not beyond the bounds of possible realization today.

Glittering generalities, of course, have their uses, but need to be accepted cautiously.

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"The Chairman Will Need a Gavel . . ."

Thus one reviewer—writing in the *Leaders' Aid Bulletin* of the Group Education Service—characterizes the Institute's new and exciting service for discussion groups and individuals, the DECIDE FOR YOURSELF *Packets*.

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INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

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Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

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Volume IV

Number 13

We Say Au Revoir

WITH this issue, the publication of *Propaganda Analysis* is suspended for the period of the war emergency. The Institute's Board of Directors has concluded that to attempt to continue publication during the war period would probably result in weakening the confidence which the Institute has won, and impair its usefulness later.

The publication of dispassionate analyses of all kinds of propaganda, "good" and "bad," is easily misunderstood during a war emergency, and more important, the analyses could be misused for undesirable purposes by persons opposing the government's efforts. On the other hand, for the Institute, as an Institute, to propagandize or even to appear to do so would cast doubt on its integrity as a scientific body. If it were to continue it would have to analyze all propaganda—of this country and of Britain and Russia as well as that of Germany, Italy and Japan.

The Board of Directors considered this problem at its meeting on February 27, 1941. It decided then that if the United States became engaged in actual hostilities a meeting should be held at once to consider the Institute's course. President Roosevelt's announcement that the United States had entered the "shooting stage" of the War came on October 27. By that time there was pressure from both interventionists and anti-interventionists to make partisan analyses of the other fellow's propaganda. Also, good friends and former supporters became convinced that since we could not be partisan, their own effort to aid democracy in the crisis should be made elsewhere; that long-time programs like the Institute's could wait.

Students of public opinion were bound to see the possibilities of misunderstanding and danger to the Institute's program inherent in such a situation. The Board of the Institute met on October 29, examined the various courses open to it, and decided upon suspension of the Bulletin.

The suspension occurs at a time when the most valuable part of the Institute's work is at the height of its influence. This part of the work is the demonstration of methods by which people can analyze propaganda for themselves. It remains available and unimpaired by controversy or hysteria. The publications showing the methods are in public libraries, schools and colleges all over the country, where they can be consulted and studied. Since war situations bring forth much vicious propaganda—although much good propaganda as well—the Institute's reports thus far should find increasing use. The intolerance that usually accompanies and immediately follows war periods has already appeared. It can and must be combatted if we are to avoid here the Nazism and fascism we are opposing. It can be combatted by the methods of propaganda analysis popularized by the Institute.

In thus discontinuing publication until a more favorable time, the Institute takes satis-

TO INSTITUTE MEMBERS

Arrangements for handling unexpired subscriptions are described in a letter to subscriber-members of the Institute on page 7 of this issue.

faction in the work accomplished. The extent of its influence is, of course, difficult to measure. For one thing the Institute paid a minimum of attention to keeping a record and a maximum to the current business of analysis. It kept no track of the numerous speeches given by its group, nor did it attempt to follow all the newspaper publicity and published references to its work. For another thing, propaganda had become so widespread before the end of the first World War that it had attracted numerous students, and the literature on the subject was already large before the Institute's origin, in the fall of 1937. Lastly, much of the talk about propaganda today results from the fact that the word is a convenient epithet. It is being used to stigmatize objectionable propaganda.

But the Institute has clearly been the chief agency in popularizing an understanding of propaganda. This is indicated by the enthusiastic comments received from the start. The United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. John W. Studebaker, wrote that "you are at

work in an important field of service." Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, the historian, wrote that "this is the most important single educational enterprise in the United States today so far as preparation for the democratic way of life is concerned." Such comments from educational and public leaders have continued throughout the Institute's life. The late Dean Frank L. Martin of the University of Missouri recently called the Institute a "most worthwhile work." Dr. Stuart A. Queen of George Washington University, retiring president of the American Sociological Society, wrote that a recent Bulletin would help people deal with propaganda "realistically."

Probably more significant of the actual use to which the material has been put are comments such as that from Paul H. Shields of the forum demonstration service of the United States Office of Education, who wrote to describe the "extremely favorable reactions" which he had heard in the course of a year of counseling work. "I have found," he said, "one of the chief needs of discussion and forum groups to be for materials which will enable them to study and discuss current social trends more critically." The Institute materials went far in meeting this need, he continued, and he had "found heads of social science departments in high schools and colleges, superintendents of schools, and lay leaders enthusiastic in their appreciation."

For Popular Use

This observation has been borne out by many statements of individual users. One such statement is that of the director of adult education in the Des Moines (Iowa) public schools, Mr. E. W. Balduf, who wrote that he considered "the Study Unit Material on propaganda which was recently sent me, one of the finest things of its kind that I have seen. As a matter of fact . . . there is nothing 'of its kind' on the market."

Gratifying as these comments have been, they show most of all the need that existed. The Institute was an attempt to make current scientific knowledge about social affairs quickly available in popular, understandable form. Professor Clyde R. Miller of Teachers College, Columbia University, whose presentation of the plan moved the late Edward A. Filene to

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Note: By its charter the Institute is a non-profit corporation organized to assist the public in detecting and analyzing propaganda, but it is itself forbidden to engage in propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation.

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contribute the money to start the Institute, came to the educational field from newspaper work. He brought with him the newspaper man's passion for simplifying complicated subjects. The "seven devices" of propaganda, of which he was the author, made the subject understandable to people in all walks of life.

Ready for Continued Growth

So the idea of propaganda analysis quickly gained a wide vogue. A concrete indication is the sudden sweep of articles appearing in the educational press. In the two years before the Institute was formed, 1935 and 1936, there were two articles and one article, respectively, on propaganda study. In 1937, the year of the Institute's foundation, there were 7; in 1938, the first full year of the Institute's existence, there were 17; in 1939 there were 35.* It has in its files 231 requests to quote its material—an average of more than one a week during its four years. Twenty-two requests were for use of the material in textbooks; four were for general books; three were for articles in encyclopedias. The rest were for articles, reprints, lectures, and sermons. And these do not include requests for quotation privileges that went direct to the publishers of books written and sponsored by the Institute.

The Institute's most popular book, *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, by Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee, sold 13,500 copies, a high mark for a book of scientific character. It is still selling. Some 18,000 copies of the annual bound volumes of Bulletins have been sold, in addition to circulation of the monthly Bulletins, which have gone to 10,000 persons.

The number of subscriber-members is little indication of the spread of the Institute's analyses. Thirty-seven percent of the subscriptions were for educators or schools, colleges, or public and business libraries. Twenty-five percent of the subscribers were persons of community or national prominence, including governmental officials, ministers, editors, advertising and public relations men, school superintendents, college professors, lecturers. The Institute had correspondence with 2500 teachers regarding the use of its materials; it

had correspondence with 1200 adult study groups of all kinds—branches of the American Association of University Women, Leagues of Women Voters, trade unions, peace groups, religious groups, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Y.M.-H.A., settlement houses and W.P.A. groups.

The work stimulated by the Institute in schools and colleges is probably the best guarantee that efforts will continue to be made to popularize propaganda analysis methods. Propaganda analysis itself is increasingly being taught as a course. More extensive is its use as a stimulating approach to other subjects. It is being used in such unexpected courses even as mathematics and music. A mathematics teacher in Grand Rapids, Ohio, has found it useful in teaching the nature of proof. Music, of course, often has a strong propaganda effect. English classes find much use for propaganda analysis. The Stanford University School of Education has a Language Arts Investigation which has considered such subjects as "Interpretation: Reading Between the Lines—The Role of Language and Propaganda in Journalism." Journalism, history, and social studies classes now often have units on propaganda analysis, or introduce analysis in the study of events. Courses in "American Institutions," "Problems of American Democracy," and the like, have become common in high schools, and propaganda is prominent among the phenomena studied. The existence of the Institute has greatly fostered such study. Through correspondence, through articles in educational magazines, through talks and individual conversations at educational conventions, and through demonstration teaching, the Institute's staff has aided hundreds of teachers in formulating projects. There is thus a considerable number of educators throughout the country who are able to continue working with the subject.

We Want to Be Shown

The Institute caught on so readily because it provided a badly needed perspective for current affairs. The age of miracles through which America passed up to 1929 produced a large amount of gullibility. In place of the healthy skepticism for which the Yankee was noted, and which was enshrined in such sayings as "I'm from Missouri; show me," Americans had come to believe in a slow but sure progress

*Edgar Dale and Norma Vernon, *Propaganda Analysis: An Annotated Bibliography* (Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, 1940), p. ii.

toward the millennium. Journalistic muckraking was all but forgotten. H. L. Mencken poked bubbles for a few years in the *American Mercury*, and "debunking" biographies appeared frequently, but the success stories of the *American Magazine* put the other literature in the shade. The public relations expert appeared on the scene and the captains of industry, the bankers, politicians, college officials and even prize fighters became philosophers given to salty sayings and filled with beneficent concern for the public weal. The seamy side of life was lost to view; anyone who mentioned it was a misanthrope. The dream could not last. The depression brought the cold awakening. By 1937 people were ready and waiting for a corrective, and propaganda analysis provided the needed scientific lens.

Current Affairs in New Light

Seen through this medium, the movies came to be understood as not merely the exasperating results of tasteless fumbling but rather the channel through which selected idea stereotypes are paraded as the pattern of American life. The newspapers, commonly thought of as enterprises in which an editor makes decisions with Olympian detachment, were shown to be creatures of their business, social and popular relationships, influenced by the biases of the business community from which the advertising comes, the biases of the publisher and his social circle and those of the readers, whose patronage is needed to interest the advertisers. The radio, likewise, was seen to be influenced by the biases of the advertisers, the government officials involved in regulation, and the listening public.

Similarly the leading propagandists of the day ceased to appear as mere individuals. Some proved to be the spokesman for significant social points of view. When the ideas of Father Coughlin were viewed in the light of the seven propaganda devices it became evident that he was not the harmless crackpot many had thought; he was playing with fascism, drawing many of his statements word for word from German propaganda literature. A striking example of pro-democratic propaganda recently cited by the Institute was that of Negro groups, who are reminding their white fellow-citizens that Hitler's ideas of racial

superiority are widely practiced, even though generally condemned, over here.

Thus the analysis of any major propaganda gives an insight into the social forces which the propaganda represents. So propaganda analysis—the search behind the propagandist's words to see what he is trying to accomplish—becomes an approach to the study of current social issues. It is a method as old as Socrates, as has often been pointed out, but so many ideas have come to be taken for granted that the study of them has all the novelty of exploration.

The Definition of Propaganda

The Institute's use of the term propaganda aroused controversy, of course. The Institute defined it as "the expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends." Some students of the subject want the word to refer only to "bad" propaganda, using words like "education" to describe other kinds. The Institute holds that "good" and "bad" are relative terms; that what is good for one man is bad for another, depending on whose interest is served. The important question is whether the propagandist's interest coincides with ours. Other students want to have propaganda describe only the hidden techniques, leaving the other parts to be called "argumentation." The Institute has held that the techniques are as endless as human ingenuity; that in modern society an element of propaganda is present in a large proportion of human affairs, and that people need to be able to recognize this element even when it is serving "good" ends.

The necessity for keeping the definition broad was made more clear when the Institute went beyond the seven devices and described the psychological processes on which propaganda relies. These show how propaganda becomes effective, moving people to act or to rationalize in certain ways by touching their emotions. The processes, eleven in number, were explained in "Propaganda for Blitzkrieg," the Bulletin issued on August 1, 1940. Using Hitler's technique as an example, the Institute showed how the propagandist "relates his propaganda to human hatreds, fears, aspirations and traditions." Certain ideas, the Bulletin ex-

plained, arouse our emotions automatically without our knowing why, and mental conditions like anxiety and frustration can be utilized by the propagandist to direct people's hatreds for his own ends. "Good" causes—and sometimes "bad"—can be popularized, likewise by the emotion-stirring use of symbols such as the flag.

We Find How People Think

To demonstrate the uses of psychological processes the Institute broadened the scope of its reports to describe current movements in American life. The seven devices had furnished a means of making the public propaganda-conscious. The description of the eleven processes helped to explain how propaganda made the public itself spread what Professor Leonard Doob in his *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique* calls "unintentional propaganda." While Hitler, the Soviet Government and such rulers as Napoleon have expressed very explicitly the ideas they wanted promulgated, the man in the street often promotes ideas with little or no understanding of how they affect his interests. The tendency of people to become locked in a certain set of ideas is a matter of common observation. But, as the Institute pointed out in its Bulletin "American Common Sense," we are all much more landlocked than we think. Professor Sumner, as that Bulletin recalled, showed how customs and usages—what he called the "mores"—which have been developed by a people to fit one set of conditions, continue to serve as a code of behavior long after the conditions have changed. In the Bulletin, "Health and the Doctors," it was evident that the medical profession is continuing to propagandize for the old individual system of medical care when much of the public, and many of the doctors themselves, would benefit from some of the proposed new programs. Thus propaganda analysis, viewed in its whole scope, becomes a method not only of detecting propaganda but of understanding the conflicting points of view that give rise to it.

Analysis of this type offers the possibility, the Institute believes, for removing many current social issues from the atmosphere of *name-calling*, and of presenting scientific appraisals which will help bring solutions. Said Professor

Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago, former president of the American Sociological Society, such discussions are "educational and . . . the kind of education that gradually brings about fundamental changes."

A knowledge of the psychological processes will be most useful in combatting the intolerance already evident in this war. Lindbergh, finding the America First program losing, openly blamed the Jews in part for the war. Many a man in the street has a story, which he will swear is true, about some supposed favoritism to Jews in draft exemption. Draftees in one camp after having passed their physical examination were heard to sing with ironic exphasis, "Onward *Christian* Soldiers!" This propaganda—heard before the Japanese attack brought such wide national unity—illustrates the technique of making scapegoats, which Hitler has used so effectively.

A War Danger—Intolerance

Wars breed intolerance. The last war saw a recrudescence of the Ku Klux Klan, which reached its full fury after 1918. It was anti-atholic, anti-Jewish, anti-alien, and in the South anti-Negro. It flourished on intimidation and violence. In a single year, from October, 1920 to October, 1921, according to the *New York World*, which made a special survey, its violent actions included:

Four killings, one mutilation, one branding with acid, forty-one floggings, twenty-seven tar and feather parties, five kidnappings, forty-three persons warned to leave town or otherwise threatened, fourteen communities threatened by warning posters, and sixteen parades by masked men with warning placards.

At the height of its power, in 1924, the Klan is estimated to have reached a membership somewhere around 6,000,000. It was an aftermath of the war hysteria and, according to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, it drew much of its following from the very people who had supposedly been defending democracy most vigorously, from the young community leaders who had been prominent in selling Liberty Bonds. Many returned soldiers also participated.

The aggressive activities of private citizens had their counterpart in governmental activity ostensibly designed to repress radicalism. The United States Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, became famous for the raids on "Reds"

conducted by his department. The methods used in those raids were themselves investigated and condemned by the National Popular Government League, with many of the country's leading lawyers signing the report. It was entitled, *Report on Illegal Practices of the United States Department of Justice*. To read it, says Professor Peter H. Odegard of Amherst in his *The American Public Mind*, "is to marvel that in the 'land of the free' such things can take place." And he quotes the former Chief Justice, Charles Evans Hughes, who said:

We may well wonder, in view of the precedents now established, whether constitutional government as heretofore maintained in this republic, could survive another great war even if victoriously waged.*

The Bulletin, "Propaganda for Blitzkrieg," gives clues to the probable psychological processes that bring out such manifestations. Activities of these kinds appear to result in part from *frustration*. As the Bulletin explained:

When we cannot achieve the goals we seek, we are frustrated. Some individuals who are frustrated become shy, lose their morale, "give up." Others express their frustration in being aggressive, or they seek other goals. To the successful propagandist, frustrated, dissatisfied people are made to order. He offers new goals for which they can pitch in and work—goals which seem to them to provide a way out of their troubles; or he shows them how to express their aggression and thus obtain a feeling of accomplishment.

Movements like the Klan are built by people who know how to capitalize on the frustrations of others.

Another psychological process is the tendency we all have to seek scapegoats when things go wrong. This process is known as *displacement*. Through it we vent our anger on some

*Quoted by Peter H. Odegard in *The American Public Mind* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1930), p. 254.

other thing or person. The propagandist suggests the scapegoat that suits his purposes. Attorney General Palmer, at the time of his raids on aliens was fighting organized labor, which was then at a high point in its strength. Many aliens were in the unions, particularly in the steel mills, where the great strike of 1919 was broken. The arrests and intimidation of aliens made them fearful of joining a union or of retaining their membership. The conditions under which we are embarking on the present war, and especially the degree of unity in support of it, give grounds for hope that intolerance will be less than last time. This should be true at least while the war is on. But it is still necessary for people to remain on guard.

Each One His Own Analyst

Analysis is one antidote for the propaganda that is intended to turn people against minorities; analysis and a refusal to be stampeded by *name-calling* until the justice of the name has been established. More important are national policies that avoid frustrations; policies that do not give rise to false hopes; policies that make sacrifices worth while; above all policies that demonstrate through actual works the ability of democracy to serve its people's needs.

Propaganda, as has been pointed out, must fit the facts of experience or be discredited. This is true of both "good" and "bad" propaganda. With the understanding of the roots of propaganda, which the Institute has sought to reveal, it is possible to defeat false kinds. The human ground can be made more resistant to the seeds of intolerance. The Institute for Propaganda Analysis hopes its work has contributed to that end.

Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc.

211 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

TO SUBSCRIBER-MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTE:

In the forepart of this Bulletin the Institute for Propaganda Analysis has announced its decision to suspend publication for the period of the war. Since no one can foresee the length of this period it has seemed most satisfactory to have the unexpired subscriptions fulfilled by another publication of similar aims. The Institute has therefore arranged for COMMON SENSE Magazine to fill these subscriptions.*

COMMON SENSE is a monthly magazine devoted to realistic analyses of current events. There have been many evidences that its readers and those of the Institute Bulletins have much in common. Some of the Institute's Board members and writers of its Bulletins have been among the leading writers for COMMON SENSE; the two publications have in the past made joint subscription offers with considerable success. COMMON SENSE is now devoting special attention to the requirements of the post-war world settlement, seeking to think through the considerations that should govern that settlement and the world structure for which it will provide. We believe our readers will find its editorial program constructive and stimulating.

The subscription lists of the two publications are now being examined for duplications and Institute members who already subscribe to COMMON SENSE will hear from the magazine shortly.

Subscriber-members of the Institute have a special interest in its publications; they are therefore entitled to first choice in purchasing what remains of the stock at greatly reduced prices described in the enclosed circular. This opportunity is open only until February 2, 1942.

Stock remaining after that date will be available from Association Press (publication department of the National Council of the Y. M. C. A.'s), 347 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The stock is very limited and Institute members are urged to return their orders as quickly as possible.

In closing, the Institute wishes to express its regret over the unavoidable delay in announcing the final arrangements and its thanks to the subscriber-members for their many examples of understanding and cooperation. Innumerable instances of these kinds have added greatly to the pleasure of the Board and staff in conducting the Institute's work.

Sincerely,
ALFRED MCC. LEE
Executive Director

*Members whose subscriptions run longer than one year will have word from COMMON SENSE about a further adjustment.

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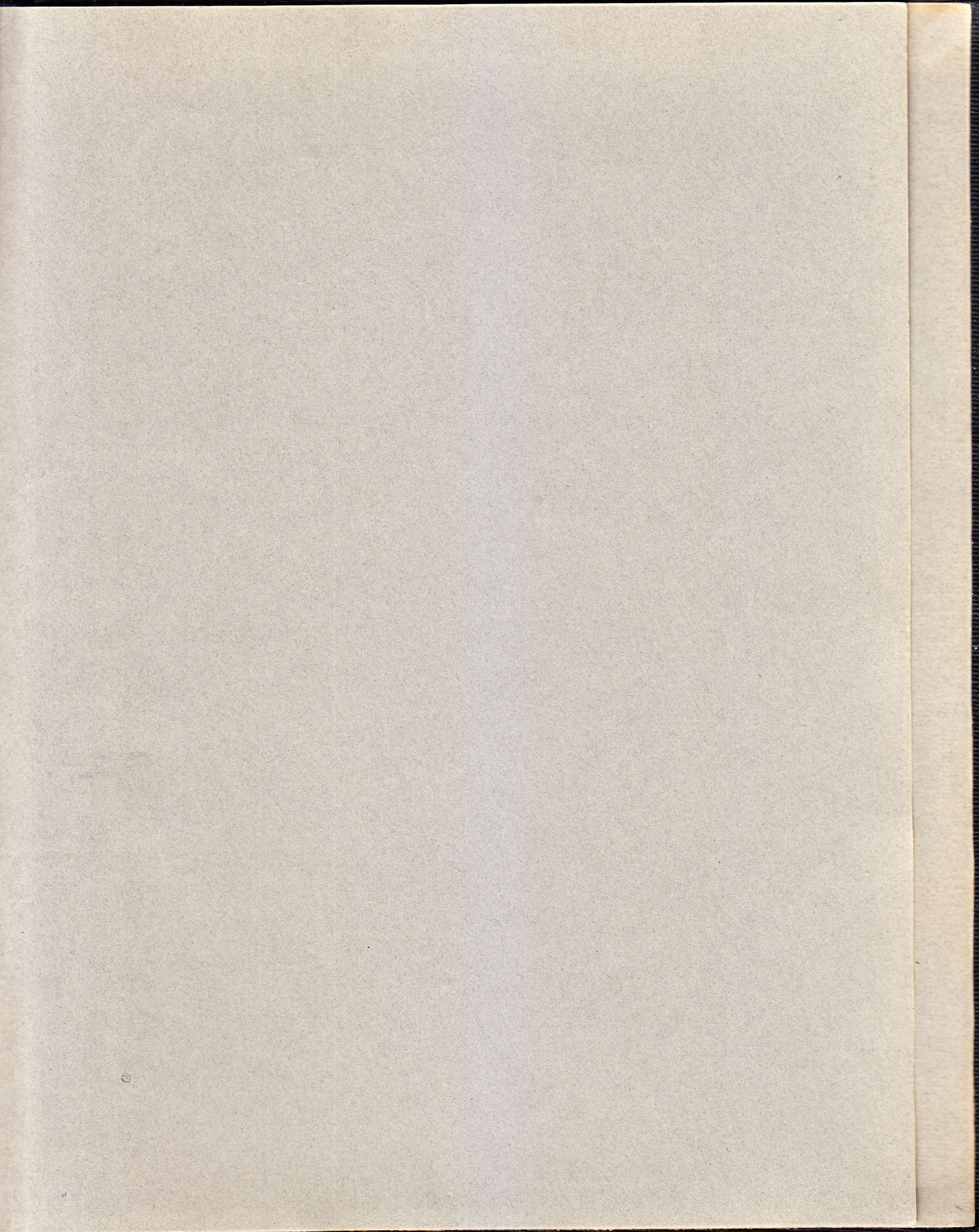
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Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc.

211 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y.



nique of Indoctrination." The report examined Dr. Rugg's philosophy of social reconstruction as expressed in his adult discussion book, *The Great Technology*.

"This fantastic panacea," Mr. Falk says, "attempts to graft the tenets of technocracy upon a framework of Marxian socialism." Taking Dr. Rugg's statement that "A new public mind is to be created," Mr. Falk attempted to show that the textbooks worked toward this end by an "approach . . . of stealth." There are four steps in the Rugg indoctrination, Mr. Falk says:

First, the child is taught the great principle of Change—everything is in a constant state of change and we must expect all institutions to be changed in the future, especially forms of government and social organization. Second, the student is shown by numerous examples of factual and fictitious evidence that our present situation in this country is very unsatisfactory and our system has worked badly. Third, the child is disillusioned of any preconceived ideas that America has a glorious history or that the founding fathers were men of good intent. Rather, it is shown that our form of society was designed to benefit only the minority ruling class. Fourth, the panacea of social reconstruction and collectivist planning is advanced as the inevitable coming change.

Hearst Writer Critical

As one of Rugg's "unrepresentative examples," Mr. Falk quotes this passage from the textbook *Conquest of America* (p. 540), in a reference to mill wages: "These people did not want to go to the towns to work in factories because the wages there were poor indeed—fifty hours a week for \$5. . . ."

"In *History of American Government and Culture* (p. 132)"²³ Mr. Falk continues, "Rugg remarks that in making the Constitution the delegates exceeded their authority, and a few pages farther on he adds that the merchants, landowners, manufacturers, shippers, and the bankers were given what they wanted."²⁴

Besides Mr. Falk, Mr. Hart of the New York State Economic Council, and the American Legion Magazine, the leaders in the Rugg attack have been Mr. Sokolsky of the N.A.M., B. C. Forbes, financial writer for the Hearst papers and publisher of Forbes Magazine, and

²³ Page 141 of the 1937 edition, which has been re-named *America's March Toward Democracy*.

²⁴ This indirect quotation, widely used by Rugg attackers, has been criticized by the defenders as a misuse of excerpt. It is the first half of a sentence. The whole sentence, with the omitted part in italics, reads: "The merchants, the landowners, the manufacturers, the shippers and the bankers were given what they wanted, *namely, a government which would stabilize money and trade, keep order within the country and defend the nation against foreign enemies.*"

Major Augustin E. Rudd, of Garden City, L. I., a retired army man, business executive, and active member of the American Legion.

Mr. Forbes commented on the Rugg books in his magazine:²⁵

"The impression I and many others have gathered from carefully analyzing them is that he has far more admiration for Sovietism than Americanism, that he would feel far more at home working and writing under the iron heel of Stalin than working and writing in this, to him, punk nation."

Chamber of Commerce Attacks

Major Rudd, who also attacked the books in his home town, wrote an article condemning them in *Nation's Business*,²⁶ organ of the United States Chamber of Commerce. The article was reprinted in the *Hearst Journal-American*²⁷ in New York City. It declared the books were "an effort TO SELL THE CHILD THE COLLECTIVIST THEORY OF SOCIETY."²⁸ The Hearst paper in an editorial note accompanying the reprint reported that James J. McCabe, on behalf of the American Legion of New York State, demanded that the Rapp-Coudert Committee include the Rugg books in its investigation of subversive influences in the public schools. The editorial note added, "In Colorado, forty patriotic societies are demanding that the same books be banned from the schools of that state."

In the reply of the school groups and their allies to the whole textbook attack, no propagandist has been more effective than Rugg himself. In an article in the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*,²⁹ he has traced the attack to "a few self-appointed censors," those persons named above and "Homer L. Chaillaux of Indianapolis, Indiana, Director National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, who has attacked 'progressive' practices in schools and colleges; E. H. West, of Haworth, New Jersey, and New York City, business executive, active in the American Legion; Major General Amos A. Fries of Washington, D. C., retired U. S. Army man, Editor of *Friends of the Public*

²⁵ *Forbes*, February 1, 1940.

²⁶ April, 1940.

²⁷ April 14, 1940.

²⁸ *Capitals* Major Rudd's.

²⁹ January, 1941.

Schools, a periodic bulletin frequently attacking the work of certain public schools; Elizabeth Dilling, of Kenilworth, Illinois, wealthy author and publisher of *The Red Network*; lecturer on 'un-Americanism' and the danger of communistic tendencies in America."

A Rugg supporter, Professor Alonzo F. Myers of New York University³⁰ quoted letters from the president of the Advertising Federation of America, Mr. Falk's organization, which showed that the Federation was trying to replace the Rugg books with materials presenting what it regarded as correct views of advertising. The letters were pieces of organizing material sent out in an effort to enroll additional memberships in the Federation.

Dartmouth College stepped into the Rugg fight earlier, awarding him an honorary degree in June, 1935, immediately following attacks on his books in Montana, Illinois, Indiana, and Massachusetts. In awarding him the degree, President Ernest M. Hopkins said: "In the forthrightness of your utterances, you have aroused the disapprobation of intolerant minds and you have incurred the hostility of advocates of special privilege. . . ."

Dartmouth Upholds Rugg

In January, 1941 the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* featured the article by Rugg describing the current attacks on the books. In an introduction, the editor said: "*The Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* . . . has sought the facts of the case from both sides, has examined the texts themselves, and has concluded that Harold Ordway Rugg is the victim of an attack which may, if ignored, do the man and his work a grave injustice."

In Englewood, New Jersey, where Mr. Forbes was a member of the local school board³¹ and led an attack on the books, Rugg supporters successfully defended them by forming a Committee of Parents and Taxpayers. This Committee published a pamphlet answering the attacks. It contained an article upholding Dr. Rugg's interpretation of history, prepared by Professor Theodore Skinner of the Government department of New York University. Answering the charge made there—as in other

³⁰ "The Attack on the Rugg Books," *Frontiers of Democracy*, October, 1940.

³¹ Mr. Forbes' term expired on January 31, 1941. He was not reappointed.

places—that Rugg shows the founding fathers as concerned with giving a minority protection against the majority, Professor Skinner says:

"That the founding fathers were fearful of democracy is not Rugg's opinion. It is a fact, provable by reference to the debates in the convention as recorded in Madison's journal."³²

Harvard and the N.A.M.

In answer to the criticism that Dr. Rugg was too friendly toward Russia, the Englewood committee quoted from Dr. Rugg's book:

The Dictator in Russia: Stalin. November, 1917, a few Russian leaders,—Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, and some others,—supported by a small army and about 2,000,000 city people, seized the government of Russia by armed force. They killed, exiled from the country, or put in prison all those who opposed them. They set up a new government which dictated the lives of 140,000,000 people.

The N.A.M.'s announcement of its textbook project immediately aroused fears. *Publishers Weekly*,³³ the trade magazine of the book publishing field, carried an article headed, "N.A.M. Threatens Textbook Censorship."

The members of the N.A.M. may not take the trouble to read in their entirety, or with sympathetic understanding, the books in question. Individual industrialists may be only too ready to call for a ban on textbooks which cast any doubts upon their own particular political and economic views. This has already happened often in the case of the Advertisers and the American Legion.

The paper reported that the N.A.M. textbook plan was worked out mainly by its committee on educational cooperation, the chairman of which is Lamot Du Pont, and by H. W. Prentis Jr.

Fourteen members of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, including Dean Francis T. Spaulding, former Dean Henry W. Holmes, and Professor Howard E. Wilson, issued a statement on the project. They welcomed "a wider interest in our schools by every type of sincere citizen." They pointed, however, to the "grave possibility of misuse of the abstracts" to be furnished the N.A.M. They added:³⁴

³² H. W. Prentis Jr., of the N.A.M., and Merwin K. Hart of the New York State Economic Council, Inc., hold that the United States was set up not as a democracy but as a republic. The implication in their pronouncements on education and government is that the masses of the people are not qualified for extensive education, nor to govern.

³³ December 28, 1940, p. 2310.

³⁴ The statement, issued January 2, 1941, is quoted in full, together with the N.A.M.'s reply in the February, 1941 issue of *Social Education*, the journal published for the American Historical Association and the National Council for Social Studies.

In the books will appear many statements to which any reader with special interests will inevitably take exception. We hold that this ought to be the case. The strength of schools in a democracy is that they are open to different points of view concerning the means by which ends may be attained. A textbook in social studies which makes no mention of the merits of free enterprise is defective, but so is one which makes no mention of the shortcomings of unregulated industry.

The N.A.M. immediately issued a statement in reply to show that its project was not an attempt to impose its ideas on the schools. It agreed with many points of the Harvard statement. It quoted the suggestions being sent to its members, telling them that in acting on the books each member should clearly understand that he was "acting as an individual, not as the Association's representative." It advised a careful reading of any book and a check on the accuracy or inaccuracy of any economic or governmental interpretation before a complaint was made to school authorities.

Finally, the N.A.M. gave its members the following "principle guide:"

(a) Manufacturers have no right to dictate the processes of education or to utilize economic coercion in an effort to compel some course of action. They do have an unquestioned right, however, as individual citizens, to express an opinion.

(b) It would be a grave mistake for any person, whether a manufacturer or of any other calling, to seek to have schools discontinue the explanation of any subject or any philosophy simply because it is inconsistent with a philosophy traditionally accepted in this country. It is appropriate, however, for any citizen to recommend that generally unaccepted political and economic philosophies should be *explained* rather than *advocated*; that both the merits and disadvantages of such philosophies should be duly emphasized; that the characteristics of our traditional institutions should receive at least an equal hearing; and that controversial issues should be presented with due regard for the age and intellectual maturity of the student.

What Gallup Found

The criticism of the N.A.M. project reflected in part the high regard the American people have for their schools. This high regard was revealed in a recent Gallup survey—used, incidentally, as a Testimonial device by the National Education Association.³⁵ Dr. Gallup found that 73 per cent of the people do not believe education is overemphasized today; 85 per cent think education has improved; 72 per cent think that young people should discuss controversial topics; 66 per cent that we are not spending too much for education.

³⁵ "What People Think of Youth and Education," *Research Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, Number 5, National Education Association, November, 1940.

The Gallup survey was a major stroke by the N.E.A. The same device had been used previously by the Michigan State Education Association, which conducted its own poll. The Michigan findings revealed strong popular support for public education, "even if it means more taxes;" however, the publication of them did not stop the attacks. Within the past year Michigan has witnessed a propaganda drive for a State budget cut of from 5 to 10 per cent, in which the schools would share. Those arguing for the cut attacked "spending for spending's sake," and blamed the schools for "most of the lack of patriotism today." The campaign was sponsored by a group called the Michigan Public Expenditures Survey. This body worked with the State Chamber of Commerce, and operated under the name "State Budget Committee." The Public Expenditures Survey, according to Arthur H. Rice, editor of the *Michigan Education Journal*,³⁶ is a unit of the Citizens Public Expenditures Survey, Inc., with national headquarters in New York City, a body financed by large corporate interests, especially the petroleum and automotive industries.

Rapp-Coudert Investigation

In New York State, as elsewhere, "economy" has been the watchword of propagandists against school budgets. Lately, radicalism has been associated with "spending" by those who oppose the present school program. More recently, propagandists against present school practices have cited the appointment of Bertrand Russell to a professorship in New York's City College. The English philosopher-mathematician's unorthodox views on marriage were made the basis for a heavy attack on the Board of Higher Education. This suggestion of immorality was featured by the press, the Hearst papers taking the lead. The campaigners were joined by religious spokesmen. Thus, the idea of immorality was associated with extravagance and radicalism.

Against this background the New York State Legislature in 1940 appointed the Rapp-Coudert committee, which was directed to investigate the schools—an idea just followed in California, where the State Legislature has this month ordered an investigation of communism

³⁶ December, 1940.

in its school system. The New York committee was directed to investigate nineteen aspects, ranging all the way from finance and building construction to teaching methods, and including an investigation into subversive activities. Since the committee's appointment in March, 1940, the only public hearings have been those held on three days in December. These focussed attention solely on subversive activities, which were associated in the newspaper reports with the Teachers Union. This body, along with the New York State Teachers Association, and the Joint Committee of Teachers Associations and other groups, has propagandized vigorously against school budget cuts. The Teachers Union claims that it has been singled out to make it appear subversive, thus to discredit labor as well as teacher groups campaigning to preserve high educational standards.³⁷ The State Legislature renewed the committee's appropriation in January, 1941.

Public Support for What?

And so propaganda over the schools rolls on. What will a victory for one side or the other mean? What are the "predetermined ends" of the propagandists? Historically, there has been a distrust of extensive education by persons in places of power. The American Colonists' attitude toward education, says Professor Knight³⁸ was similar to that of the mother country, where, during the American Colonial period and even later, the dominant influences were aristocratic. He says:

The common belief that the masses of the people were born to obey and not to govern, fixed the social position of unborn generations. . . . Those in authority were zealous to preserve class distinctions, which were never suitable soil in which to plant and grow common or public schools. It was important for the governing authority to keep the poor in ignorance. . . . Governor Berkeley of Virginia, in his remarkable reply to the authorities of England in 1671, thanked God that there were no free schools and no printing presses in that province, and hoped that there would be none for 100 years. "Learning," he said, "has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"

The principle of school support by taxation, says Professor Knight, speaking of the early

1800's "was forced to develop through violent opposition and struggle . . . Objection to taxation remained one of the most stubborn of all the obstacles to school support."³⁹

Then, as now, one of the great forces working for public education, Professor Knight says, was labor.⁴⁰

Today the public schools are an accepted institution. The issues involved are those of cost and control. The New York State Chamber of Commerce in 1939 adopted a report to the effect that the State should only pay for enough education "to kill illiteracy." The State, it said, "must endeavor to carry all the youngsters up to that point, but beyond that point youngsters will do better if they have to put up a real fight to go on, and beyond that point it is a fair question whether the State should bear all the expense or whether parents who are amply able to educate their own youngsters should pay for it." The Chamber places "first on our list of things necessary to produce 'The Schools New York State Wants,' a *Deep, True, Religious, Understanding and Viewpoint*."⁴¹

This is not the unanimous view of business men. Henry I. Harriman,⁴² past president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, after five years as a member of the American Youth Commission, declared:

"The Federal government necessarily spends money for many purposes. Not one of them is of more importance than the establishment of a basic minimum of educational opportunity in every corner of the United States. I say this with profound regret because I believe this is a time when in general our Federal Government should be curtailing rather than expanding its expenditures."

The Fear Technique

Mr. Harriman favored inculcating "cultural ideas which will aid in the beneficial use of leisure time," as well as inducting youth into "life's work."

Those who want education to develop the critical faculty—spokesmen like John Dewey and William H. Kilpatrick—point out that if

³⁷ Recently, internal dissension between the A.F.T. executive council and the New York locals has centered about charges of communism and undemocratic practices.

³⁸ Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, pp. 64-5.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 242-3.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 180.

⁴¹ Chamber of Commerce, State of New York, *Monthly Bulletin*, November, 1939.

⁴² "A Business Man Looks at Education," Henry I. Harriman, *The Educational Record*, July, 1940.

all schooling becomes mere training, then the work of the propagandist is made easy. Children are conditioned to respond precisely to the ideas of nation, God, industry, labor, which the authorities want disseminated. The development of the critical faculty, on the other hand, is basic to the scientific approach, which since the Middle Ages has remade the physical world.

Today's great issue is whether this scientific approach can be carried over to the field of human relationships. The question, then, is what people want their children to become. Is America to continue to develop all its citizens for full participation in a democracy, or is it to return to the older view that many should be trained for a lesser role?

In the propagandas over this issue, as we have seen in this bulletin, the psychological factor of Anxiety⁴³ is operating. First there are those who fear that excessive school taxation will reduce their incomes; there are those who fear that modern education will teach children to be too critical of religion, nation, and economic system. These fears are communicated to others. Thus fear arouses fear. Anxiety breeds anxiety. In times of stress such as the present there is the desire common to most

persons to escape present fears by the process of Regression. They would go back to more stable, happier days, to the old-time religion, to the free enterprise of their fathers, and to simple common schools which taught only "fundamentals." That the simple school is less expensive makes it doubly attractive.

With fear playing upon fear, it becomes easy for the propagandist to condemn by Association.⁴⁴ Thus a fearsome part—someone's unorthodox opinions, excessive spending, radicalism—serves to condemn the whole. Aspects of the school program which are fearful, or can be made to appear fearful, are utilized to condemn the entire school program. Because these psychological processes of anxiety and fear are constantly in operation, the propagandist, with his Name-Calling, Glittering Generalities, and the like, can bring about mass responses.

The teacher groups again are fearful of the lay groups. They too will let parts condemn the whole, forgetting the large support of education by many business, religious, and patriotic groups. Analysis of the propagandas over the schools should determine the *interests of the propagandists*. In a democracy these are good or bad only in terms of the youth and of the nation as a whole.

Propaganda Analysis Guide

SOMETIMES when we find two people or two groups differing about something the only way to make up our minds is to analyze the arguments of each and to weigh one side against the other. But the best way is always to investigate for ourselves. Here is a case where we *can* investigate for ourselves. Those of us who are students can investigate our own school. Those of us who are parents can investigate our children's school.

This *Propaganda Analysis* bulletin describes the present controversy over the public schools. Important factors are summarized below in a brief statement of the problem:

Analyzing the conflicts that are discussed in this bulletin it seems apparent that what is going on today is a struggle for control of the

schools. Involved in this struggle are two major groups with opposing philosophies of education. The first consists of the education profession itself. The second consists of various lay organizations, many of which are described in this bulletin.

Although the education profession disagrees on practices it is united on its philosophy and function which it describes as helping young people learn *how* to think, not teaching them *what* to think. Teachers say that they are attempting to prepare young people to face and to solve their personal problems and those of a changing world. They call their philosophy of education "democratic," a Glittering Generality which needs analysis to determine whether or nor it is justified. The educators describe the philosophy of education held by the non-school group as, essentially, an attempt to teach young people *what* to think. This, they say, is exactly what is done in the totalitarian countries, and for that reason they call the non-school pressure group's philosophy of education "totalitarian"—an instance of Name-Calling which likewise requires analysis.

⁴³ "Propaganda for Blitzkrieg," *Propaganda Analysis*, August, 1940.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Naturally the non-school group does not subscribe to the characterizations given by the education profession to the two opposing philosophies. The non-school group calls the educational philosophy of the school group "Communitistic," "subversive"—both bad names. Whereas most educators say they are preparing youth to face the problems of a changing world, their critics say teachers are indoctrinating youth to demand social change. At the same time, the non-school group describes its own philosophy of education with such Glittering Generalities as "patriotic," "American," etc.

This group says that it is not attempting to teach youth what to think, but that it wishes to inculcate in young people a reverence for the founding fathers, the Constitution of the United States, the great American patriots, Christian virtues, the men who built up American industry, American traditions.

The non-school group is composed, as this Institute bulletin points out, of many diverse elements. Although these elements are in general agreement on their philosophy of education, each approaches the schools from its own particular viewpoint, emphasizing its own special interests. See bulletin for special interests (and for points of agreement and of disagreement in general philosophy) of non-school groups and individuals in large-scale industry and finance; in taxpayers groups; patriotic organizations, churches.

Few of us are in a position to appraise conflicts and the propagandas they engender throughout the country, but all of us are in a position to become acquainted with, and to evaluate, our own schools. In the process we become active, thinking citizens applying critical thinking as an expression of the scientific method¹ to one of the most important of our social institutions—for the public schools are important to us as individuals, and to our society.

Here are some suggestions for making your own appraisal of your school:²

¹ For clear outlining of "steps" in the scientific process, see S. P. McCutchen's analysis, page 109, *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume II, Institute for Propaganda Analysis, New York.

² *To high school and college students and their teachers:* These suggestions are intended as the basis for a unit of study, or project, in the social studies class, which might bring in if possible pupils and teachers from journalism, mathematics, science, English classes. Or, you may wish to carry on the investigation in extra-curricular groups—Student Council, clubs, school newspaper with the help of your faculty advisers. In appraising your school you will come to know your community, you will learn why people think and act as they do, how public opinion is formed in your community.

To adult groups: These suggestions form a basis for a special study in your parent-teacher, civic, church, or club group.

To both young people and adults: The investigation will be work—and fun. It requires careful preliminary planning on the part of the class, or group, and it includes fact-finding, careful reporting, thorough-going discussion and analysis of your own and others' opinions. Record-keeping is essential to the investigation. *Groups and classes undertaking the investigation are invited to send their findings to the Institute.*

FIND OUT FOR YOURSELF

I. GET OFF TO A FAIR START

Have you yourself any strong pre-conceived ideas about your school? About what it should do, or is doing, for you (for your children)? If so, what are these ideas? How—where—did you get them? Why do you have them? How do these ideas affect what you read and hear said about your own and other schools?

Do you believe *at this time* that your school is doing a good job? a bad job? Explain, carefully.

Look at yourself again: do you have any personal prejudices against your school? What it teaches? Any of its teachers? If so, how do you honestly account for these feelings? Admit the feelings and the reasons for them to yourself. Try not to allow them to enter, in any way, into your investigation.

Write a personal, private statement of your own biases. *Keep* the statement throughout the project as a check against yourself in your thinking and in doing your part of the investigation's work. Do not enter actual names into this record; signify persons and classes, if necessary, by X, Y, Z.

After you have made this preliminary statement, discuss with your group the various ways in which a person's own point of view, his biases, pet peeves, desires, and ideals may color his thinking and his actions.³

II. WHAT IS DEMOCRATIC?

We grow up hearing the words, *democracy* and *democratic*. We use these words frequently, we read them, we hear them over and over again. What do they mean? What is "democratic?" What, by the same token, is "undemocratic?" We must know what we mean by "democratic" if we are to appraise our school and its teachings. Because many people do not understand this word and the concept for which it stands they are unable to "think straight" about what is "democratic" and what is "subversive" of democracy. Understanding of the principles of democracy can be gained through reading and through experience; these understandings will serve as a kind of yardstick in our investigation.

³ For discussion suggestions, see *Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis*, pp. 97-104; or *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume I, pp. 9-11. Institute for Propaganda Analysis, New York.

"Democracy," the Institute for Propaganda Analysis has said, "has four parts, set forth or implied in the Constitution and federal statutes. . . ." ⁴ Use the Institute's yardstick after thorough discussion of it—or, better still, *build your own*. This is the second step towards making your investigation. Your librarian, your civics or history or English or social studies teachers will suggest books, will direct you to many points of view concerning democracy if you ask them. But, in the final analysis, you will want to think through the concept of democracy for yourself, so that you may have a specific criteria for your investigation.

A. Write a short statement of what you mean by "democracy." Explain it in your own terms; illustrate what you mean from your own experiences. Keep this statement as a part of your group's record.⁵

B. Contrast, compare your ideas of democracy with those of present-day writers and speakers, seeking out as many points of view as possible.⁶

III. WHAT ARE AMERICAN TRADITIONS?

Here is a project for the entire group. With your leader, or teacher, plan discussion, reading, and analysis. Become familiar with the writings of the school and of the non-school groups about American traditions, American ideals, and such terms as "a changing society," "a stable society." Here are a few suggestions for beginning thinking about American traditions and ideals, and their relationships to us:

A. What kind of world did Americans of 1776 live in? Was Revolutionary society "a changing society" or "a stable society?" Consult several histories of the period. Document the point that, when we analyze traditions, we must be clear about *which* traditions we have in mind. Ask: why do people invoke traditions and "historic ideals" when they wish to prove certain points? Find examples of this practice on the part of school and non-school propagandists.

B. Is present-day society in America in "a

state of change" or is it "stable?" Cite reasons for your opinion.

C. Are educators and others correct when they say: change is one of our oldest traditions? What purpose have they in mind when they make this declaration? In terms of your own experience *are* teachers in your school trying to help you to "adjust to change?" Do their efforts make you desire certain changes in our society? If so, what changes? In the light of your concept of democracy (Yardstick) are these desires "undemocratic," not in accord with "American traditions?"

D. From your study of the writings of non-school people can you tell whether, as educators have charged, they are propagandizing for a curriculum which will lead you "to resist change?" (Do educators have a special reason for making this charge? Would non-school people have reason for wishing to prevent change? Is it, in your opinion, possible to prevent change?) If so, what kind of history or social studies class would this mean in terms of its content, and its effect upon you?

E. What kind of social studies and history classes seem to you the most sensible? Why? Get your reasons into the group record.

IV. APPLYING THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

What is true about your school? Is it "Communistic?" Is it "totalitarian?" Is it "democratic"—or "subversive?" To determine the answers to these questions you must inquire into all the elements of the school: its organization—school board, superintendent, principal, teachers, pupils; its curriculum—courses of study, teaching methods, student activities; textbooks and other classroom materials.

To appraise these elements, appoint sub-committees. The school will be their laboratory. Their activities will include: gathering background information, specific fact-finding, testing statements and modes of argument, weighing evidence, claims, and counter-claims, accepting or rejecting data on the grounds of being pertinent, or not pertinent, to the question under consideration.⁷

Sub-committee inquiries should include the

⁴ Consult *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume 1, p. 2. Institute for Propaganda Analysis, New York.

⁵ Now is a good time to select a group secretary who will keep a file, or record, of the project.

⁶ For an interesting description of democracy and of a school, written by an Alabama high school girl, see *Life* magazine, January 13, 1941, p. 70.

⁷ In this connection you will find invaluable *How to Think Straight*, by R. Thouless. Simon & Schuster, N. Y. 1940. Appoint a special sub-committee to report on this book—and to listen critically to other sub-committee reports to the group.

following (in no sense exhaustive) list of points:

A. How democratic are your classrooms? Here, the task is to translate your concept of democracy into concrete terms of teacher-student relationships and activities. The process calls for careful consideration of the democratic relationship of the individual to his group. You may wish to sponsor a miniature "Gallup poll" among the teachers and students of your school, using the school newspaper and its reporters, to find out what points of view exist on this question.

Here are some criteria in question form. You will wish to add others.

1. Are all points of view expressed, and given consideration, in the classroom?
2. Is the unpopular point of view *well-presented*?
3. Are pupils encouraged to express opinions?
4. Does the teacher force her opinion upon the class? If so, what particular opinions? Document your answers.

B. What is meant by "academic freedom?" This is a Glittering Generality which needs defining. You will want to do much reading, consulting as many sources as possible, on the subject of academic freedom. Then, determine:

- (1) do your teachers possess academic freedom?
- (2) do you as students have academic freedom?
- (3) what limitations, if any, are imposed upon academic freedom in your school? By whom?

C. Is your school "totalitarian?" Is it "subversive" of democracy? Here, the sub-committee will explore the origins and meanings of these words. Ask: what are the essential differences between "democratic" and "totalitarian?" What ideas and practices seem "subversive" of democracy to your teachers? to non-school propagandists described in this bulletin? to you, in the light of your analysis and research? Do you find evidence of any "subversive" or "Communitistic" or "Fascist" teachings in your social studies classes? The sub-committee has two major tasks in this project: (1) to get clear understandings of the meanings of these words (to what systems of government, philosophies, etc., do they refer?); and (2) achieving adequate thinking and weighing of evidence.*

*For suggestions for analyzing evidence, see Edgar Dale, "Notes on Propaganda," *News Letter*, Vol. 5, No. 2. Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

D. Are your textbooks "unpatriotic," "undermining democracy?" The textbooks and other materials used in the social studies classes are the ones at present being most widely discussed. Suggestions: (1) go to the *textbooks themselves*, read them, form your own opinions, then check the thinking of school and non-school propagandists with your own. Ask such questions as: "how did the author of the textbook or article get his information? What were his motives? Where was it written? What do all the facts mean?"⁹ Make a list of cautions such as: Do not quote a passage, or sentence, out of the context; do not generalize from one example, or instance.

E. What groups in your community concern themselves with what your school teaches, and how it teaches? What are their special interests? What are their fears? What are their activities? What are their methods? Consider how the ideas of these groups reconcile with your concept of what the schools should do for you (for your children). Are the publications of any of the groups listed in this issue of *Propaganda Analysis* used in your school, especially in your social studies classes? How?

Analysis of the various interest groups in your community—or neighborhood—will give you a picture of the group structure of our so-

⁹ Ibid.

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.
211 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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ciety; this picture is essential to an understanding of how public opinion is formed on questions of the public schools, as well as other vital issues. Make a sample study of the literature, the activities, and the propaganda methods of school and of non-school groups—either local or national.¹⁰

After reports of the various sub-committees and their discussion by the entire group, complete all records of the investigation, summarizing what you believe you have learned. Then, attempt to evaluate your own and your group's efforts, pointing out weaknesses and strengths in the investigation as you now see them. *As a group* outline procedures you would recommend to others who might wish to undertake a similar investigation of their schools. Hold your opinions as tentative, as true in terms of the evidence you now have. Hold yourself ready, and willing, to revise your opinions and beliefs should they be changed, or contradicted, by future pertinent factors and considerations.

¹⁰ In addition to this bulletin, see "How to Detect Propaganda," *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume I, and "Propaganda for Blitzkrieg," Volume III. Use these two Institute studies together; see especially page 119, *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume III.

NOTE

American Peace Mobilization objects to the statement made in the Institute's January Bulletin, *Religious Propaganda Against the War*, to the effect that "if the Soviet Union becomes an ally of Britain . . . it seems possible that the American Peace Mobilization movement might begin propagandizing for military aid to Communist Russia."

It objects also to the Institute's quoting news stories, particularly that of the New York *Herald Tribune*, stating that the movement "has been branded as a Communist front organization by Government investigating agencies."

We think the A.P.M.'s objections are valid, in that the Institute should not have predicted what all members of any organization would do in a future exigency; there is testimony that the FBI has investigated the A.P.M., but we have no evidence that the FBI has called this group Communistic.

The secretary of the religious committee of the A.P.M. is the Rev. John B. Thompson of Norman, Oklahoma.

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War Aims in War Propaganda

WAR aims or peace aims—which are used interchangeably—cannot be separated from the propaganda which helps to win wars. A clear understanding of aims builds and maintains morale. Without it, soldiers and citizens are assailed by doubts. They ask, "What are we fighting for?" They say, "It's a phoney war." Morale declines; fighting spirit droops.

This truth was emphasized recently by Lieut. Col. Ward H. Maris, General Staff, U.S. Army, Chief of Public Relations Branch, when he told the Virginia Press Association on January 24, 1941¹ that an important factor in the collapse of France was the shattering of the morale of the French soldiers. "They had only a vague notion of what the war was about," said Colonel Maris, "and they were continually grumbling about real or fancied grievances. The notion that this was a 'phoney war' was prevalent. . . . Many of the soldiers felt that their service was useless, that they might better be employed at their usual vocations, earning a livelihood for themselves and families."

British propagandists of the first World War also stressed the importance of a clear statement of aims for their effect in enemy and neutral countries. This point was made in connection with that war in a memorandum written by H. G. Wells as a member of the British Advisory Committee for the conduct of British propaganda among enemy peoples.² This mem-

¹From a news release, U.S. War Department, Public Relations Branch.

²Sir Campbell Stuart, K.B.E., *Secrets of Crewe House: The Story of a Famous Campaign*. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1920; pp. 61-65. Crewe House was the headquarters of the British Department of propaganda in enemy countries in the first World War.

orandum was described by Sir Campbell Stuart, deputy director of British propaganda in enemy countries in the previous World War (serving under Lord Northcliffe), as the work of a "master of psychology" and as having been prophetic of much that was "forged into history." The Wells memorandum is quoted by Sir Campbell:³

It has become manifest that for the purposes of an efficient pro-Ally propaganda in neutral and enemy countries a clear and full statement of the war aims of the Allies is vitally necessary. What is wanted is something in the nature of an authoritative text to which propagandists may refer with confidence and which can be made the standard of their activities. It is not sufficient to recount the sins of Germany and to assert that the defeat of Germany is the Allied war aim. What all the world desires to know is what is to happen *after* the war. The real aim of a belligerent, it is more and more understood, is not merely victory, but a peace of a certain character which that belligerent desires shall arise out of that victory. What, therefore, is the peace sought by the Allies?⁴

Hitler's victory over France, as the Institute has pointed out,⁵ was made possible by his successful combination of propaganda of word and deed with military technique. His Nazi soldiers were in no doubt as to what they were fighting for.

"We have a clear war aim," declared Hitler in his New Year's message for 1940. "Europe must be freed from the coercion and constant threats emanating from England. . . . We are fighting for the reconstruction of the new Eu-

³What Mr. Wells thinks should be the war and peace aims in the present struggle is elaborated in his recent book, *The Common Sense of War and Peace*, Penguin Books, London.

⁴Ibid, p. 65.

⁵"Propaganda for Blitzkrieg," *Propaganda Analysis*, August 1, 1940.

rope. . . . We can ask the Lord . . . to bless us further in our fight for freedom and independence."⁶ Increasingly the Nazi propagandists since the beginning of the war have tauntingly challenged the "plutocratic democracies," with their chronic depressions and unemployment, to match the efficiency of the totalitarian states where there is work for all.

Hitler Built Morale

Hitler took the offensive long before September, 1939. Even though it was a war economy that he built, it was one that gave work to the unemployed, and with work, a feeling of achievement in the building of a greater Germany. France, however, remained on the defensive—in both propaganda and military policy.

In Great Britain the early conduct of the war was as sluggish as in France. The government seemed to think a real offensive unnecessary. Alfred Duff Cooper, British minister of information, on his visit here in 1939 indicated that England had only to stand by, that revolution would break out in Germany to be followed by a conservative government which would cooperate with the British.⁷ So hopeful of a conservative revolution, apparently, was the Chamberlain government that, in early March, 1940, it was on the point of sending troops to aid Finland. Stalin was seen as an enemy more dangerous than Hitler to Empire interests.

Then came Denmark and Norway—and Chamberlain toppled from the premiership. Then Dunkerque. Those were events which crystallized public opinion. The British really began to fight. After Dunkerque, the war aim of the majority of Britons became more than mere defense; it was positive: defeat Hitler.

Gone was any popular idea of further appeasing Hitler by a quiet defensive war—in the hope that he could be turned eastward to expend his energies in a struggle for the Ukraine. As the threat of invasion approached, as the German bombs rained on London, Coventry, Southampton, Birmingham, the British

fighting spirit increased. More and more English valor and gallantry came to the fore. The masses of the people knew, at first hand, what they were fighting against.

The British had a war aim: crush Hitler. It was immediate, peremptory, and it was constantly reiterated by Winston Churchill. As Britons faced together the dangers of Nazi bombs, as they rubbed elbows in shelters, they talked about the war and of the world of stupid, blundering statesmen⁸ who had caused it. They talked, too, of tomorrow's world. They would defeat Hitler, yes; but to go through the whole thing again?

Many in Britain want to know. In a poll taken last December by the British Institute of Public Opinion on whether the Churchill government should formulate and publish its war aims, 42 per cent thought it should. The proportion opposing the publication of war aims was 35 per cent. Twenty-three per cent had no opinion.

Effect of Secret Treaties

What should the aim be? This question has agitated Britain, as Harold Callender wrote in the *New York Times*, February 2, 1941. Said Mr. Callender:

There is ample authority for saying that Britain's aims are, first, to survive, and next to insure against future wars. There have been official hints of a federated Europe. There is strong British sentiment for a complete new deal with, for instance, a pooling of colonies and raw materials.

Germany would solve these problems through a European unity enforced by conquest. Like the Nazi Reich itself, this would be unity without freedom. . . . Germany has stated her war aims as fully as any isolationist Senator could ask. Britain's aims are less simple. Freedom, involving many wills, is always more complicated than submission to one will. It entails discussion and formation of opinion by the slow democratic process.

The British are "keenly aware" that mistakes were made in the last peace, Mr. Callender says.

Those mistakes [he continued] were attributed partly to the divergence between American and Allied war aims;

⁸ For statements on the blunders of British diplomacy in recent years see Frederick Schuman's *Europe on the Eve and Night Over Europe*, Ambassador Dodd's *Diary*, G. E. R. Gedye's *Betrayal in Central Europe*, and Pierre van Passen's *Days of Our Years*. These volumes document the policy of appeasement which led to tacit or actual support of Hitler in Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Moreover, they indicate a policy of deliberately strengthening Hitler as a bulwark against the Soviet Union. With some exceptions, notably that of Winston Churchill, conservatives in both Britain and France believed Hitler when he said, in effect, "Back me and I will save you from Russian Communism."

⁶ *Facts in Review*, January 6, 1940, German Library of Information, New York City.

⁷ Harold Lavine and James Wechsler, *War Propaganda and the United States*, published for the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1940, p. 164.

between Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points of January, 1918 and the secret Treaty of London of April, 1915. Mr. Wilson had asked for statements of war aims in 1916, both sides complying in general terms which clarified little.

In the Autumn of 1917 the Bolsheviks dug out the secret treaty of London from Russian archives and published it. Mr. Wilson soon proclaimed broad terms which conflicted at many points with the inter-Allied treaty, and the Peace Conference sought a compromise between the two programs. The Germans still argue that they accepted Wilson's terms but got peace representing the earlier Allied aims.

So far as today's war aims propaganda is concerned, this picture is not cleared by the common argument that, had Germany won the war, it would have imposed a peace harsher than Versailles. Very likely it would have done just that, for the Kaiser long had propagandized for "a place in the sun" for Germany. As Professor H. C. Peterson⁹ has written:

Undoubtedly, Germany did have ambitious desires. The implication, however, in all these arguments was that the Allied nations had no questionable motives, that they were merely fighting for peace, international law, humanity and democracy. On January 5, 1915, Lloyd George said, "Nor are we fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race." This denial of selfish aims was issued just before the completion of the secret treaties of London in which the Allied nations began the division of the spoils. Later understandings provided for additional gains at the expense of the Central Powers. The Treaty of Versailles is ample evidence that the war aims of Great Britain and her allies were not the result of complete disinterestedness and that their propaganda attacking German war aims might justly be termed hypocritical.

Woodrow Wilson's Aims

President Wilson's Fourteen Points answered to the satisfaction of Americans in 1918 the question, "What are we fighting for?" They led the people of the Central Powers to ask themselves the same question, and to many in those countries it seemed that America was fighting for the same kind of world that they wanted.

The fact that the aims stated in the Fourteen Points were not realized complicates the problem of propaganda today for Great Britain. With the United States committed to helping Britain, it is America's problem, too. The disparity between Wilson's Fourteen Points and the peace of 1919 was a factor in giving to the Germans a frustration upon which Hitler, as propagandist, has shrewdly capitalized. The

⁹ H. C. Peterson, *Propaganda for War*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1939, p. 50.

realities of Versailles might have been forgotten by Germans and everybody else had the world in 1920 been heading for decades of prosperity and full employment instead of a disastrous economic crash. However, that crash brought Versailles to the fore, enabled Hitler to utilize it to rally the Germans against the democracies.

Master Touch in Psychology

In this he has played on the two psychological processes that dispose people to fight each other—Displacement and Projection. Displacement is the process that makes us vent our feelings on somebody or something else when things go wrong. The businessman who fails to swing a deal and who takes out his irritation on his wife is giving an example of it. The process works either way; through it a person may turn either love or hate to some new object. Successful propagandists use this fact by building up love or hate for objects which they want loved or hated. Through this process the Nazis brought many Germans to blame their own troubles on England; through it they brought their people to place their love and trust in the Fuehrer. The process is a powerful means of attracting loyalty or canalizing "torrents of hatred and murder."¹⁰

Projection is the process through which people attribute to others impulses which are in their own minds but which they conceal from themselves. It can be used, as Hitler has used it, to make people believe that others have evil intentions toward them. It also is the secret of the dynamic, expanding power of new religions, of revolutionary movements. It develops crusading zeal. It was used by the propagandists of the American Revolution¹¹ to intensify the belief in England's greed and oppression. In the first World War the British propagandists utilized the process to help win America to their cause by spreading the idea of the German menace. They even persuaded

¹⁰ See E. F. M. Durbin and John Bowlby, *Personal Aggressiveness and War*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, p. 21.

¹¹ The Institute reminds its readers that its analyses are made without reference to whether a propaganda is "good" or "bad"—these being relative terms meaning one thing to one person and the opposite to another. The important thing, in the Institute's view, is that the reader understand the propaganda methods, that he form the habit of balancing *interests* served by conflicting propagandas.

many persons to believe stories of "Hun frightfulness," later proved untrue. The propaganda played a part in developing America's crusading zeal in that war and making its soldiers ready to sacrifice and die for the cause.

When Hitler talks of his relatively clear war aims he reinforces the effects of these processes on the Germans. Thus he whips up the fighting zeal of his soldiers. He makes them missionaries for the "new order" that he proclaims he will build in Europe. The fact that he gave work to the unemployed in Germany and created a semblance of security and a sense of achievement strengthened his propaganda. He now leads his people to believe that the British would destroy these benefits, which, the Nazis say, the Germans possess in greater degree than the English.

"Psychological Offensive"

To many British and to millions of Americans, also, Versailles brought frustration. Hence, there has arisen in both Britain and America a demand for more specific war—or peace—aims. England's well-known writer on military affairs, Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, has, in the language of military and propaganda strategy pointed to this need. He called last January for a "psychological offensive," saying that the vagueness of Britain's peace aims and excessive emphasis upon a "decisive military victory" were serious weaknesses in the British position.

Churchill's oft-expressed aim, victory over Hitler, does not seem to such students as Captain Hart to be sufficiently effective propaganda. Merely to tell the Germans that the war will go on until the Nazis are destroyed, he wrote recently, would be singularly ineffective. In answer, he pointed out, the Nazis naturally say to the German people, "If we disappear the British will give you hell and the Treaty of Versailles will be a feather-bed compared to a Treaty of Berlin drafted by Sir Robert Vansittart" (chief diplomatic adviser to the British Foreign Secretary).

"We must create a new order in Britain," wrote Captain Hart, "ready for extension abroad, that will be superior in nature and attraction to the Nazi order."¹²

The same idea is being expressed by eminent

¹² London *Daily Herald*, quoted in *Uncensored*, February 15, 1940.

churchmen and socialistic writers like Mr. Wells and Harold Laski. Laski says in his book, *Where do We Go From Here?*, "We cannot unleash the forces which victory requires if we stand by the ancient ways." Wells and Laski want revolutionary changes: planned economy, production for use, vast extension of public education, socialized medicine and recreation, public housing, an end of the racial superiority theory which Hitler has used so effectively.

The London *Times* last December carried a letter on proposed war aims signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York; Walter A. Armstrong, Moderator of the Free Church Council; and A. Cardinal Hinsley, Archbishop of Westminster.¹³ The letter set forth five aims as basic to permanent peace: abolition of extreme inequality in wealth; educational opportunity for every child, regardless of race or class; safeguards for the family as a social unit; restoration of a sense of "Divine vocation" to man's daily work; utilization of the earth's resources as "God's gifts to the whole human race."

Twenty-three Bishops

A month later, the Archbishop of York and twenty-three bishops and fourteen deans of the Church of England, meeting at Malvern, adopted as a war and peace aim the goal of Europe as a co-operative commonwealth; they condemned the profit system; urged a new order of society in which "the ownership of the great resources" by private individuals would not exist; declared that Christian people should take the fullest possible share in public life, in Parliament, in municipal councils, in trade unions, and in all other bodies affecting the public welfare. Said one speaker at the conference, the poet, T. S. Eliot:¹⁴

The whole structure of society . . . is, from the Christian point of view, rotten and must permanently frustrate your efforts to create for the individual the possibility of a Christian life. . . . This has given Hitler the opportunity for saying "To hell with the whole order." . . . He said this, and from despairing humanity he wrung forth a tremendous and dynamic response. . . . In order to save humanity from the horror of . . . Nazism, we must find a way of living superior, not

¹³ Reprinted in *International Conciliation*, March, 1941, No. 368. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York City.

¹⁴ *Time Magazine*, January 20, 1941, and *Christian Century*, February 19, 1941.

merely to Nazism, but to that which we ourselves knew before. . . . We are unprepared for this. . . . You must be prepared to offend people who are determined to preserve the existing order. . . . I beg of you now to proclaim the new society openly. . . . So only will you save yourselves and us.

No less explicit than the churchmen, in envisioning a new order in Britain, a group of ten Britishers who, under the title, "A Plan for Britain," set forth in London's *Picture Post* of January 4 (and just reprinted in the United States by the National Economic and Social Planning Association in Washington, D. C.) their ideas of the kind of Britain which should emerge out of the war. Among the ten are the novelist, J. B. Priestly; the medical authority, Dr. Maurice Newfield; the educator, A. D. Lindsay; and the scientist, Julian Huxley. Wrote Huxley:

Today, the only possible course is to throw the old system overboard. We must replace the ideal of "economic man" with one of "social man," of an individualist competitive society with one of an organized and unified community. . . . We must think of the State as a positive instrument of service in all those fields where individual action is not enough or is leading to chaos.

Mr. Huxley would remove from people the dead weight of anxiety. With his reforms to end unemployment he would include those to assure a healthy population. A positive health policy, he wrote, would include planned recreation and leisure—something as good as the Nazis have in their "Strength Through Joy" movement.

Status Quo vs. New Order

Certainly, Captain Hart's "psychological offensive" would seem needed if figures cited by Commander King-Hall (once of the Royal Navy) published in London's *Picture Post* of December 30, 1940, are correct.¹⁵ He declared that the Axis powers had 250 divisions of men, that the British may have 50 divisions in 1942. As the Institute for Propaganda Analysis said last September, Britain will need men to win, possibly Hindus, possibly Americans, possibly both; that no propaganda for the *status quo* was likely to enlist the enthusiastic support of Americans or Hindus nor could such propaganda bring revolution in Germany or conquered countries.

If some concrete event dramatized for the people of India Britain's devotion to democracy,

¹⁵ Quoted in *Uncensored*, February 15, 1941.

such support might be forthcoming from that quarter. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has indicated that. In an official statement on September 15, 1939, the Working Committee said:¹⁶

The people in India in the recent past faced great risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free and democratic state in India, and their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom; but India cannot associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom, when that very freedom is denied her, and such limited freedom as she possesses is taken away from her. . . . If war is to defend the *status quo* of imperialist possessions of colonies and vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it.

The Committee is convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or world democracy. But there is an inherent and ineradicable conflict between democracy for India, or elsewhere, and imperialism and fascism. . . . The Working Committee, therefore, invites the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to at present. . . . The real test of any declaration is its application in the present, for it is the present that will govern the action today and will give shape to the future.

Winant: "We Must First —"

The statement of course must be recognized as in itself part of the propaganda of the Indian National Congress. Not unlike it was the appeal for a positive social policy as an element of war strength made recently by America's new Ambassador to Great Britain, John G. Winant. He said:¹⁷

Unpreparedness was not only military. There was also a lack of foresight and of readiness in the social field. War came to the democracies when they still had thousands of unemployed. It found them holding out little promise to the young or to the old, with poor living conditions, with tired faith. The Fascist promise of work and hope fell on fertile ground under these conditions; it contributed to division within the house of democracy. We could not expect—and we cannot now expect—that a citizen with no share in the benefits of democracy will give his faith and his life for the preservation of the empty promises of democracy. . . . To win the war or to build our defense, we must first justify our beliefs by strengthening the fundamental economic, social, and civil rights of all free citizens.

However, many who are supporting Church-

¹⁶ Quoted in the autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru, *Toward Freedom*, John Day and Company, New York, 1941, pp. 429-32.

¹⁷ Address before the New York League of Women Voters. Reported in *PM*, February 11, 1941.

ill are fearful lest positive steps in the democracies toward a new order might mean socialism or Communism. Among such persons are many in Britain who supported Hitler as a bulwark against Stalin.¹⁸

American supporters of Churchill who fear socialism as an outcome and who have no stomach for propagandizing for it as a peace aim include Mark Sullivan of the New York *Herald Tribune*, and Arthur Krock of the New York *Times*. Sullivan warned that the American Congress should vote any aid to Britain with its eyes open to the possible emergence of socialism.¹⁹ Former Ambassador Kennedy and anti-interventionist John T. Flynn of the America First Committee, see the possibility of National Socialism—Fascism—as the result of the war, for England. And that would bode ill for America, they indicate.

Churchill's Dilemma

Thus Churchill, in making propaganda to win the common people and the idealistic churchmen and social scientists, poets and novelists, would be stating goals which, if put into effect, would alienate powerful newspaper publishers, churchmen, bankers, industrialists, statesmen, educators, and politicians who have no desire to see a British victory followed by socialism in England or anywhere else. If, on the other hand, Mr. Churchill states war aims which comprise propaganda for the *status quo*, he weakens the support of millions of people in his own country and in other countries to which England is appealing for aid.

Mr. Churchill and British spokesmen like Lord Halifax seek to meet the dilemma by talking in general terms: victory over Hitler, and a world so reconstructed as to avoid an-

¹⁸ British statesmen were not the only ones who supported the Nazi regime, according to passages in Ambassador Dodd's diary. These reveal on the part of numerous influential Americans indications of sympathetic approval. William E. Dodd, Jr., son of the late Ambassador to Germany, said in a radio broadcast on February 1, 1941 that Senator Burton K. Wheeler was the Senator mentioned but not named in the diary as strongly favoring the Nazis. The son made his statement after President Roosevelt had identified Mr. Wheeler as the unnamed senator. The address was made over Station WMCA. The diary was published under the title, *Ambassador Dodd's Diary* by Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York.

¹⁹ Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, has stated that reports that Britain will go socialist after the war are without foundation. (See *American Guardian*, January 31, 1941).

other war. Reconstructed how, and to what end? This question calls for specifications.

Particularly is this true in the United States. Memories of the last war are still vivid. Ministers like Harry Emerson Fosdick can say we were "gypped" on the first World War and ask, "Why fight another?" Non-interventionist statesmen like Senator Gerald P. Nye can make propaganda against participation in a new war by telling the old Indian story: "White man fool Indian once, shame on white man. White man fool Indian twice, shame on Indian." Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, president of Vassar College, can warn against venturing into a war the goals of which are not yet clear. Said Dr. MacCracken to a group of churchmen in Brooklyn, January 30:

There are some who say that by going to war we shall achieve true democracy at home, that England is more democratic as a result of the war. Why, then, a Viscount Halifax in our midst?²⁰

Albert Viton, writing in the pacifist *Christian Century* on February 26, 1941, can declare:

Every indication points to the conclusion that the British rulers are thinking in terms of the old order, that they have not risen above the European mental quagmire and that they are bent on preserving their imperial system. . . . The Allies did not believe in Wilson's "new regime," they did not want it. Consistently—whether deliberately or not does not matter—Britain aided the fascist "new order." It is utter nonsense to say that American withdrawal doomed the League of Nations; Britain and France had sufficient moral authority and material force to make the league a reality without our aid.

The executive director of World Peaceways, Inc., Mrs. Estelle M. Sternberger, can assert that even a smashing military victory over Hitler will not assure lasting peace. She expressed this view in a speech on February 14, 1941, over the Columbia Broadcasting System network. To make peace secure, she believes, a new world order is needed, in which there will be no subject peoples, but only partners.

The Nye-Wheeler Approach

Against this background of doubt isolationist Senators Nye and Wheeler on January 27 introduced into the Seventy-seventh Congress their war aims resolution. This, in itself, was propaganda intended to keep America out of

²⁰ *Herald Tribune*, January 31, 1941. The reference is to the fact that Halifax's name is associated with Britain's pre-Munich policies.

war and to try to defeat the Lease-Lend Bill. It cited how America, in April, 1917, declared war to make the world safe for democracy; how the Treaty of Versailles had disregarded American concepts of democracy and peace and had provoked the second European war; how the world in 1941 enjoys less democracy than in 1917; how, with another war imminent, the American people should have knowledge of the war aims and peace conditions of the belligerent powers, so that the nation would know for what it was fighting. It concluded:

Resolved, that it is the sense of the United States Senate that the President of the United States, through the State Department, request all belligerent governments to proclaim publicly their respective war aims and peace conditions and any and all secret treaties for disposition of territorial spoils.²¹

Previously President Roosevelt had made his declaration. In his message to Congress on January 6, this year he called for:

Freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

Freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

Freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings, which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

Freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

"We Embark on Imperialism"

Other war aims for America are being discussed. William Hard has demanded that Britain bind herself concretely to make the Western Hemisphere safe for American democratic ideals in case Britain with America's help wins the war.²² There is Clarence Streit's plan for Union Now, a union of the U.S.A. and the six British democracies. The view that America is embarked on an imperialist undertaking was voiced on December 10, 1940 by Virgil Jordan, president of the National Industrial Conference Board. Speaking before the Investment Bankers Association of America, he said:

Our government has committed the American community to participation in this war as the economic ally of England, and as her spiritual, if not her political, partner in her struggle with the enemies of the British

Empire everywhere in the world, to help prevent, if possible, their destruction of the Empire, and if this should not be possible, to take her place as the heir and residuary legatee or receiver for whatever economic and political assets of the Empire survive her defeat. . . .

Whatever the outcome of the war, America has embarked upon a career of imperialism, both in world affairs and in every other aspect of her life, with all the opportunities, responsibilities and perils which that implies. . . . At best, England will become a junior partner in a new Anglo-Saxon imperialism, in which the economic resources and the military and naval strength of the United States will be the center of gravity. Southward in our hemisphere and westward in the Pacific the path of empire takes its way, and in modern terms of economic power as well as political prestige, the sceptre passes to the United States.

He added:

We may be afraid of the unfamiliar and forbidding word, imperialism, in connection with the commitment we have made. We may prefer, in the current American fashion, to disguise it in a vague phrase like, "hemisphere defense."

Luce: "America Is In the War"

Henry Luce of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* made a statement of war aims in his *Life Magazine* editorial of February 17, 1941, republished as an advertisement in daily newspapers. This editorial, entitled "The American Century," sees America as being in the war and as obtaining from it a dominant position on the globe with billions of dollars of profit from Asiatic trade.

At present, in the opinion of one observer, Lawrence Dennis, author of *The Dynamics of War and Revolution*, often regarded as America's chief theorist of National Socialism, the world is galloping into collectivism, war or no war, but with war hastening the process. He sees Stalin as reaping most of the benefits, while imperialist nations are destroying one another. Collectivism will come to all nations anyway, says Dennis, and the deeper they get into the war the quicker it will come. If the United States wants to keep what it has of free enterprise it will stay out of the struggle; but in any event it should remember that this collectivism is coming and everywhere will eventually be led by the elite.

Harry Elmer Barnes, historian, pro-democratic, a violent opponent of Fascism, sees Stalin as the beneficiary of the war and holds the American aim should be to stay out, thus matching Stalin in shrewd and realistic political maneuvering.

²¹ Seventy-seventh Congress, Senate Resolution 56, January 27, 1941.

²² *Reader's Digest*, February, 1941.

Anne Morrow Lindbergh, in her book, *The Wave of the Future*, sees, like Mr. Dennis, the war as a vast revolution and argues that America can gain nothing by joining in the struggle. The very title of her book suggests her belief that the revolution will win inevitably. The wave of the future, she says, is revealed in Nazism, Fascism, and Communism—horribly, perhaps, but “perhaps even ultimately good,” and there is no fighting it.

There Is Always Russia

Actually, *The Wave of the Future* is a Glittering Generality. To get across the idea that one side or another in a conflict will inevitably triumph is an age-old propaganda device. It is used by politicians in every election and as a matter of course by the propagandists who have an interest in the outcome of any war. By sheer mathematics half or more of such propaganda is mistaken.

There are those who hold that only with Russian aid or at least benevolent neutrality on the part of the Soviet Union, can England win the war. Certainly Winston Churchill and his ambassador in Moscow, Sir Stafford Cripps, and his foreign secretary, Anthony Eden, have shown considerable interest in the Soviet Union. But the prospect of possible Russian cooperation, as a war or peace aim, is anathema not only to British conservatives but to pro-Fascist Catholics in America like Father Charles E. Coughlin, and to other members of the hierarchy. Nations that call Russia a friend, declared Mgr. Fulton J. Sheen²³ of the faculty of Catholic University, Washington, “cannot say they are fighting for the Kingdom of God.” Mgr. Sheen was reported by the New York *Times* as saying that Ireland and Portugal are the only two nations “adjusted to divinity.”

However eager British Tories and American conservatives may be that Britain triumph over Hitler, they don’t want to see the Soviet Union benefitting by anybody’s victory. An example of this viewpoint is that of the writer Heptisax in the New York *Herald Tribune*, January 19: “If the enemies of totalitarianism aren’t free at the end to clean up Russia, their defeat of Germany, however thorough, will be a job half done.”

This, among many Americans and British

²³ New York *Times*, March 5, 1941.

who have no use for Soviet Russia, constitutes a war aim warmly held.

Out of such confusion of propagandas three clear patterns of opinion had appeared by last autumn. As Professor Hadley Cantril showed in an article in the *Public Opinion Quarterly*,²⁴ these were: the “isolationist” pattern, the “interventionist” pattern, and the “sympathetic” pattern. The isolationists believe it more important for the United States to keep out of war than to help England. The interventionists believe it more important to help England, even at the risk of war, than it is for America to keep out of the war. Those in the sympathetic group agree with the isolationists that it is important to keep out of war but they agree also with the interventionists that America should do more to help England.

“Actions Speak Louder . . .”

But America, says Henry Luce, is *in* the war. Certainly with the passage of the Lease-Lend Bill it is in it with materials. Soon it may be in the war with men, if prophecies made by such isolationists as John T. Flynn are correct. Certain it is that the vast majority of American citizens want Hitler crushed. If the process involves American intervention, the propaganda implications which are valid for England will be valid, too, for the United States. Chief of these is the fact that Frustration and Anxiety do not win wars. The feelings of helplessness and fear engendered by these processes must be replaced by feelings of strength and confidence. Admittedly, more than a statement of war aims is necessary: “actions speak louder than words.”

Nazi critics of democracy assert that it simply isn’t in the nature of the democracies to make performance coincide with promise. This view was stated in an interview in Germany reported by Richard O. Boyer in *PM* of October 2, 1940:

On my last day in Germany I talked to a Nazi official in the Foreign Office for a long time. With a peculiar, bitter little smile curling at his thin lips, he spoke of the world, of England, and the U.S.A.

“There is only one way to beat us,” he said “and it is beyond the power of your so-called democracies to do it. YOU WOULD HAVE TO EXTEND DEMOCRACY TO AN EXTENT THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO

²⁴ “America Faces the War,” by Hadley Cantril, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, September, 1940.

DO WITH YOUR PLUTOCRATS. You would have to make it clear that the people in a democracy get more than the people of Germany. We're poor, but what we have is equitably distributed even though you don't think so." He paused and waited for me to speak but I did not do so. "You can't win," he said, and his manner was still taunting and unpleasant. "Look at France. Her rich men were afraid to win, afraid to fight because they feared the people. It will be the same in all countries. YOU HAVE TO MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK TO FIGHT US EFFECTIVELY. YOUR WEALTHY MEN ARE MORE AFRAID OF THE PEOPLE THAN OF US."

He was very cocksure and he spoke slowly as if speaking to a child who he knew could not understand.

Some American capitalists, men like Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Company, and James P. Warburg, banker, recognize that a war and peace goal must be along the lines of a new social order better than Hitler's to win to democracy's cause the confident zeal of Americans. In an address, "Total Security—a Challenge,"²⁵ before the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, in Philadelphia, January 29, 1941, Mr. Wilson stressed that "the ardent aim" of the British people to defend themselves and finally destroy the dictators arose basically from "the deep-held desire to insure for their masses and for their fellow men in other lands a much larger measure of economic freedom and security than the conventional capitalistic and imperialistic system has previously provided."

"... The Original Betrayers"

Mr. Warburg, in a letter to the *New York Times* on February 2, 1941 wrote:

It was not the common man who originally caused the trouble. It was the political man, the industrial man, the great landowner, the banker—all too many of whom placed concern for the maintenance of their own privileged position ahead of all other considerations. These men, and their social and economic parasites, were the original betrayers. Out of their selfishness were born the extreme mass movements of the left. Out of their fear, aroused by these movements, were born the reactionary dictatorships of the right. . . . Our hope of peace is inextricably interwoven with the establishment of an order which will make recurring major conflicts unnecessary.

And many Americans are thinking of the vast military strength that must be marshalled to subdue Mussolini and Hitler and restore the independence of all the over-run countries. They are calling on Britain to state her aims in such sure terms as will command that strength.

²⁵ Published by the General Electric Company.

Wrote the ardently pro-British Samuel Grafton in his column in the *New York Post* on February 18, 1941:

It appears almost a cruel superfluity for an American, living and working in safety, to demand creative political action of England when she is giving us the reality of brave battle. But we who want her to win must make the demand, for it is only thus that she can win; her greatest danger is the peril that her friends, noting her desperate plight, will be too lenient with her; a kind of Fifth Column of admirers who wrap her errors in the cottonwool of their approbation, and keep all her mistakes alive.

He continued:

So we must say, again and again, "Do not talk about freedom; free India, and win a third of a billion friends in Asia and conquer the minds of a quarter of a billion in Europe." We must say: "Do not talk about democracy; find an inspired way to save a million refugees who are hunted because they are friends of democracy; give them your own bread if you have to, and stun the world with the proof that those who love democracy find home when they find you." We must say: "Guarantee economic security for all your own people, as your better papers advise, and thus compel the continent to believe that when you come, their safety comes with you."

So Americans may expect great increase in the propaganda involving war aims with sharpening conflicts among representatives of different aims.

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Propaganda Analysis Guide

OUR democracy has gone into action, President Roosevelt declared on March 15. The President sounded a call for national unity and warned that the entire nation must make sacrifices in order to accomplish the defeat of the dictatorships, which menace the very existence of all democracies. The world, he declared, has been told that America as a united nation realizes the danger which confronts us and that "to meet that danger our democracy has gone into action."

The new purpose which emerges in these critical times must rest upon the processes and the attitudes which make democracy work: action in a democracy must be based upon analysis. As futile—and possibly as dangerous—as analysis without action, is action without analysis.¹

In the words of Professor E. L. Thorndike:

Psychology in general teaches us to face reality rather than follow the unconscious logic of hope.

We must keep our feet on the ground. If we ever needed to be guided by intellect and reality, now is the time. We must not let passions and emotions sway our actions.

I. GROUP PROJECT

A YARDSTICK FOR WAR AIMS

The United States government has adopted a policy of all-out aid to Britain because of the conviction that Fascism anywhere menaces democracy everywhere. Once again as in 1917 we are uniting to save the world for democracy. It is necessary to take into account the fact that victory in World War I did not insure the success of democracy throughout Europe and throughout the world. Somewhere along the way actions were taken that defeated, partially at least, the purposes for which the people of the United States were prepared to make sacrifices.

If the American people are not to be sidetracked again analysis must precede each action. Every step proposed must be subjected to the question: will this action further the cause of democracy? How? In order to make

such a critical examination we must, of course, decide just what democracy is. In its first bulletin the Institute proposed the following definition:

Democracy has four parts, set forth or implied in the Constitution and federal statutes:

1. *Political* — Freedom to vote on public issues; freedom of press and speech to discuss those issues in public gatherings, in press, radio, motion pictures, etc.
2. *Economic* — Freedom to work and to participate in organizations and discussions to promote better working standards and higher living conditions for the people.
3. *Social* — Freedom from oppression based on theories of superiority or inferiority.
4. *Religious* — Freedom of worship, with separation of church and state.

Using this definition as your yardstick, analyze the various war aims which have thus far been proposed, as described in this bulletin of *Propaganda Analysis*, in an effort to answer the question, Will they further democracy? Scan your daily newspapers, your magazines for other expressions of war aims not cited in this bulletin, and subject them to the same tests.

II. GROUP DISCUSSION

GETTING PERSPECTIVE

Effective propaganda analysis depends in great part upon access to sources of information and upon using pertinent information in a problem-solving way. How factual and extensive is your understanding of the forces and the conditions which have given rise to today's warring world? How much better prepared are we today to meet these problems than we were in 1917?

In this connection review *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume III, Number 1, "The War Comes." This bulletin's Worksheet is recommended as a companion study for use with the current issue of *Propaganda Analysis*. See especially those suggestions on page 12, and the bibliography on the origins of the first World War and the background of the second.

¹ For a more detailed discussion of this, see the Preface of *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume III.

For consideration of the psychological bases of war, "Propaganda for Blitzkrieg," *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume III, No. 10, provides an excellent group introduction.

BOOKS TO READ

Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, Peter Smith, New York, 1938.

Captain Sidney Rogerson, *Propaganda in the Next War*, Geoffrey Bles, London, 1939.

James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1939.

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1939.

War in the Twentieth Century, edited by Willard Waller, The Dryden Press, New York, 1940. (See especially pp. 429-477).

Also the books cited in this bulletin.

A LETTER TO THE DIES COMMITTEE

Newspaper stories from Washington on February 22 reported that the chief investigator for the Dies Committee, J. B. Matthews, had announced that the Institute for Propaganda Analysis had been "under investigation" for two years. Matters which the Committee had looked into, according to Dr. Matthews as reported in the stories, were the publication of the Institute's bulletin of January, 1940, "Mr. Dies Goes to Town," and the fact that two members of the Institute's Board of Directors had signed various public petitions. Both of these members had joined in public criticism of the Dies Committee; one of them had signed a petition protesting the removal of Communist Party candidates from the ballot and one urging aid for anti-Fascist refugees from Spain.

On March 7, the Institute's president, Professor Kirtley Mather of Harvard University, sent the following letter to Congressman Dies:

My Dear Congressman Dies:

Our Board of Directors has instructed me to call to your attention the fact that it is now more than two weeks since your

chief investigator, Dr. J. B. Matthews, announced in the press that your Committee was investigating the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. Despite the fact that our Treasurer, Dr. Alfred M. Lee, stated in the press at the same time our readiness to facilitate such an investigation, we have received no word from your Committee.

I am instructed to reiterate, therefore, our entire willingness to cooperate in every way to assist your Committee in ascertaining the facts about the Institute and its work.

At the same time, we wish to point out that the announcement of an investigation by your Committee, without following up the announcement or indicating publicly that the matter had been dismissed, is hardly a proper procedure. We therefore request that you act on this matter in one way or the other without delay.

In view of the fact that your investigator gave his announcement to the press without first getting in touch with us, we are making this letter public.

Yours very truly,

KIRTLEY MATHER,
President

NOTE

In the January, 1941, bulletin, "Religious Propaganda Against the War," the Institute reported: "... the Jews have no historic traditional teaching against war. ..." This is incorrect. Like the Christians, the Jews can find precedent in their religious teachings for many attitudes toward war—ranging from militarism to pacifism.

For a documented discussion of this point, see Abraham Cronbach's article, "War and Peace in Jewish Tradition," in the *Central Conference of American Rabbis' Yearbook*, 1936.

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JUN 30 1941

Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

211 FOURTH AVENUE: NEW YORK CITY

Volume IV

Number 6

Strikes, Profits, and Defense

IN THE first World War, the number of millionaires in the United States increased from a total of 7,509 in 1914 to 19,103 in 1917.¹ The United States Steel Corporation's net income rose from \$50,614,000 in 1915 to \$246,312,000 in 1916; it was \$198,999,000 in 1917.²

The rise in the average annual earnings of workers in all manufacturing industries from 1914 to 1918 was from \$580 to \$980, a study by Professor Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago shows.³ At the same time the cost of living rose so greatly that real earnings rose little. Professor Douglas reports that, taking the average real annual earnings from 1914 as 100, the average real earnings for 1918 were 108.

Many persons who were aware of the great profits being made, held their peace until the war was over, and then launched a campaign to take the profits out of future wars. Talk of drafting industry in the event of another conflict, was widespread. The impact of the great depression made the antipathy to war profits more pronounced, particularly after President Hoover declared that the war itself, and the abnormal economic and political conditions which it had brought, had caused the depression. *Fortune Magazine* added fuel to the flames with its sensational exposure of the war

profits. All this discussion led to the Senate Investigation of the Munitions Industry, which lasted from 1934 to 1937. As the Special Investigating Committee's findings piled up, revealing that some bankers and industrialists had pressed to get America into the first World War and had profited greatly, it became popular in America to say: "Next time we will conscript wealth as well as men. Next time there will be no war profits."

But, conscripting wealth as well as men was easier said than done, as a Temporary National Economic Committee monograph on *Economic Power and Political Pressures* reported to Congress early in 1941. Limitations on profits had to be repealed and the rates of taxes and provisions for loans fixed in the summer of 1940 before the wheels of industry would begin to turn for national defense, the Committee's monograph said.⁴

Today again, the nation is engaged in a gigantic rearmament effort. And again labor and capital are locked in a struggle over the share each shall have of the fruits of their joint effort. As usual in a democracy, a struggle of this magnitude becomes in large measure a struggle for popular support. Hence propaganda will have a prominent, if not a decisive, part in the outcome.

The memory of the World War profits and the hopes raised for curtailing such profits in future wars is vivid among much of the public

¹ These figures are based on the old definition of a millionaire—any person with an annual income of \$50,000 or more. The statistics appear in the United States Treasury Department, Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income*, 1937, Part 1, p. 36.

² These figures, given by Moody's Investors Service, represent the net earnings after all fixed charges, including taxes and preferred dividends, have been deducted.

³ Paul H. Douglas, *Real Wages in the United States 1890-1926*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1930, p. 239.

⁴ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power*. Monograph No. 26, *Economic Power and Political Pressures*, by Donald C. Blaisdell. U. S. Senate Print, 76th Congress, 3rd Session. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1941. p. 171-2.

today. It constitutes a major factor in the propaganda struggle, and labor in particular is using it. It began to be recalled in union journals, in speeches and wherever else labor could state its case as soon as the present war became certain. Editorials and speeches stressed that the employes got their small part of the war-time prosperity mainly through the struggles of the union. They urged unorganized employes to join the unions now so as to provide the strength needed to protect and, if possible, improve their living standards during the present war period. They told the public, as John L. Lewis did in his speech before the Automobile Workers Convention in the summer of 1940, that it was important to the nation that sufficient income be distributed "to permit its population to consume its own production."

The NAM's Position

Industry on the other hand fears that attempts are being or will be made to raise wage rates "faster than warranted by increased productivity of labor or increases in the cost of living." This fear was indicated by the National Association of Manufacturers in its "position on wages" adopted in December, 1940.⁵ The NAM's position is that "such increased earnings as are necessary and desirable during the armament period in individual cases should be made in the form of temporary wage bonuses rather than increases in the basic wage rates; providing however, that the basic wage rates are not less than equal to the general wage level for similar work in the community." The NAM's concern, it explains in this statement, is for the period after the war:

The importance of keeping costs as stable as possible is emphasized by the problem which this country will have to face after the termination of the defense program. At that time, government orders will drop considerably and this will probably result in widespread unemployment. If, in the meantime, industry is discouraged, on account of a narrow profit margin caused by high labor costs, from developing new products and cheaper methods in the production of goods, which have hitherto been too costly, we will fail to provide for the only remedy that exists to soften the shock of business contraction.

High wage rates, in themselves, the NAM has pointed out,⁶ do not provide the employe with a high level of income:

⁵ Reported in *NAM Labor Relations Bulletin*, March, 1941, a publication of the National Association of Manufacturers.

⁶ National Association of Manufacturers, *Declaration of*

It is often forgotten [the NAM says] that high wage rates are likely to be the cause of low income through their effect upon volume and employment. The employe's annual income depends upon the sum total of what his weekly pay envelopes bring him throughout the year. If the employe is to have a steady job, the cost of turning out the product on which he works must be low enough to attract consumer demand. . . . The employe is, furthermore, a consumer in his own right, and benefits from any reductions in price on goods he requires and uses.

The present struggle between labor and capital is intensified by industry's memories of another phase of the first World War expansion. The unions expanded then, too. Many workers joined to protect their living standards during a period of rising costs. The unions received increased recognition from the government as President Wilson sought their support in mobilizing labor's support for the war.⁷ The unions doubled their membership, the AFL growing from 2,020,671 in 1914 to 4,078,740 in 1920.

Today more than 9,000,000 workers are organized, counting AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods. They represent more than a fifth of the total working population. In the populous industrial states they represent almost enough voting strength—if they were to vote solidly—to determine the outcome of an election. In New York State for example the AFL claims a membership of 1,300,000, the CIO 900,000—a potential voting strength of 2,200,000 compared with the total vote of 6,600,000 in the 1940 elections. If the national trade union membership were to double during the present war period as it did from 1914 to 1920 it could almost carry a presidential election by itself.

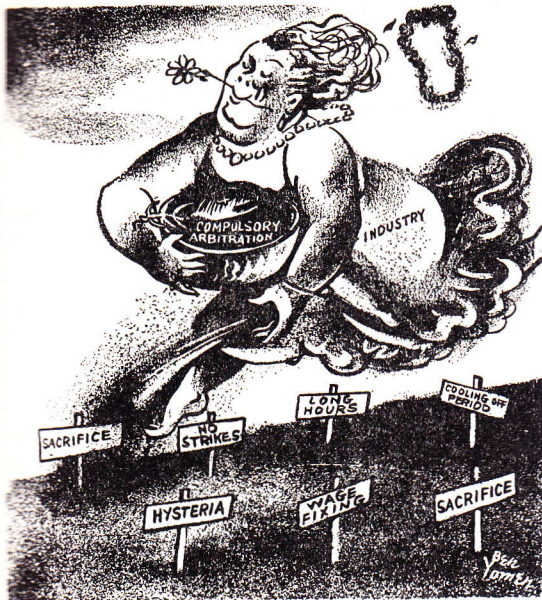
Employers Mobilize

Labor's previous great rise in membership was not long sustained. The employer associations organized in great numbers. By 1920, the National Association of Manufacturers had a membership of 5,700, representing from 75 to 80 per cent of the manufacturing industry. The

Principles Relating to the Conduct of American Industry, adopted in the Congress of American Industry, December 1939, p. 13.

⁷ James R. Mock and Cedric Larsen in their *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information 1917-19* (Princeton University Press, Princeton 1939) say on page 190, "Gompers (then president of the American Federation of Labor) was more important than any other man except the President himself in getting labor to accept" what Wilson called "the people's war." The Committee on Public Information was the George Creel Committee. Messrs. Mock and Larsen's book is a study of the committee's documents.

Spring Planting



Two versions of spring planting. On the right, a cartoon from the *Herald Tribune* of March 26, 1941; on the left a cartoon from the April 11, 1941, *Labor Temple News*, official publication of the Peoria Trade and Labor Assembly, Peoria, Illinois. Cartoons are drawn to evoke conclusions or judgments predetermined by the propagandists, and to evoke these responses quickly. Hence



their use of symbols, Transfer and Card Stacking, and their appeal to prejudice, to minds already "set."

NAM affiliates employed more than 6,000,000 persons.⁸

The associations began a big campaign to persuade the public of their point of view and some formed an open-shop association which conducted a militant attack on trade unions.⁹

Two Powerful Antagonists

Shortly after the war ended, the benevolent attitude of the government ended. Labor lost the big steel and railroad strikes. The mine workers' strike was attacked by President Wilson. The raids of Attorney-General Palmer on "radicals" created hostility toward, and suspicion within, the ranks of labor. These factors, together with the manufacturers' open-shop campaign, cut the unions down. By 1924, the AFL had lost 1,200,000 members—a drop of 30 per cent from the peak.¹⁰

⁸ Clarence E. Bonnett, *Employers Associations in the United States*, The Macmillan Company, 1922.

⁹ Ibid, pp. 30 and 550.

¹⁰ Lewis L. Lorwin, *The American Federation of Labor*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1933, p. 228.

Today industry like labor is at the height of its strength. The National Association of Manufacturers speaks for 8,000 members as compared with 2,785 five years ago.

The propaganda struggle between labor and capital is being fought with slogans and statements that speak of wage increases, shorter hours, security on the one hand, and national defense, patriotism, free enterprise, efficient production, and the right to work on the other.

Anxiety and Patriotism

But underneath the propaganda struggle, and aside from the economic interests are important psychological factors that largely determine the effectiveness of the different propagandas.

True, the main channels of communication are in hands friendly to business, as indicated by the TNEC report quoted on page 6 of this *Bulletin*, and this gives an advantage to the business propaganda. But deep psychological patterns determine to a considerable extent the public's receptivity to statements of the rival sides.

Anxiety, created by the war situation, is a major influence in determining receptivity. Anxiety makes people want to pull away from new things and return to more familiar and more secure ground. Hence the powerful appeal of patriotism at a time like this. It brings back childhood impressions of the sturdy founding fathers, of parades and Memorial Day addresses. It also unites us with our fellow citizens and thus gives us a restored feeling of strength and security. New ideas are particularly suspect at such a time. This is especially true among that part of the public which does not feel strong interests in the issues. The astute propagandist takes advantage of this fact and stresses the newness or strangeness of anything he opposes.

"One Big Happy Family"

This situation paves the way for another characteristic of popular behavior in war crises: the development of strong hates. Our retreat from the new things which we had thought would serve us in some good way creates a Frustration. Problems which we were about to solve have to go unsolved. People try to eliminate such internal conflicts. Often they do so by venting their irritation on a scapegoat. In the Institute *Bulletins* on "Propaganda for Blitzkrieg" and "War Aims in War Propaganda"¹¹ common illustrations of the process were mentioned. The psychologist calls it Displacement. A business man who has failed to swing a deal illustrates the process when he takes out his irritation on his wife. Hitler has demonstrated the possibility of using this process to canalize the irritation of wartime situations against objects—scapegoats—which he wants hated. When one side in a conflict can make the other side the scapegoat for war-time irritations, it wins a big advantage.¹²

¹¹ August, 1940, and March 27, 1941.

¹² Some people on learning how emotions can be played on by propagandists become discouraged and despair of the possibility of doing constructive things. The Institute does not share this feeling. It feels rather that an understanding of the propaganda processes facilitates intelligent analysis, which in turn facilitates sound decisions. When a person knows the methods, he can see the nature of the propaganda. He then asks himself whose interest it serves. If this interest parallels his own, he supports the aim for which the propagandist is working; if not, he rejects it. An early *Bulletin*, "Yankee Common Sense," will deal with this question.

The Institute wishes to stress that in its analysis of propagandas in this as in other *Bulletins*, it analyses both "good" and "bad" propagandas. It recognizes that

In the labor conflict, another element operates: the tendency of employees to look upon their employers as almost second fathers. This is the attitude recognized by the employer who speaks of himself and his employees as "one big happy family." Among both employees and the public as a whole it gives special moral authority to the statements of employers.

This identification springs from the fact that employees tend to transfer to their employers some of the allegiance they give their fathers. Some psychologists call this an adaptation of the "family drama." The "family drama" is the habitual pattern of our conception of people which is formed in our impressionable years, as a result of our relations with the members of the family. As we grow older the pattern or "drama" remains much the same; new characters more and more frequently substitute for the old. The employer commonly fits into the role of the father.

The father, as the seat of authority, represents society and social custom to the child, and so does the employer to the adult. And just as an emotional conflict develops in the child when he goes against the wishes of his father, so an emotional conflict of greater or less degree develops in the employee when he goes against the wishes of his employer. In the long run, and especially in crises, as Sumner said,¹³ economic factors become operative and the employee's attitude tends to be modified accordingly, but this is a slow process.

The Fight for Moral Authority

The trade union is a competitor for a share in this moral authority of the employer. It would have more difficulty than it does were it not for the fact that many employees, due to some personal circumstances, have broken with their "family drama." These are the "radicals." People who have had such personal experiences, according to Dr. Karen Horney,¹⁴ are apt to have greater insight into the problems of those who still have strong parental allegiance. They are thus able to assist in making

what is "good" to one person may be "bad" to another, depending on their interests, their values, and their emotional conditioning.

¹³ W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, Centennial edition, Ginn and Co., Boston, 1940. p. 2.

¹⁴ Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Times*, W. W. Norton Publishing Co., New York, 1937. p. xi.

a readjustment. It is against "radicals," therefore, that the opponents of unions aim much of their fire.

As a union grows in moral authority, union leaders begin to attract some of this father allegiance. Since members have close contact with leaders in union meetings, and policies are often subjected to hot debates, these informalities tend to hold the moral authority of the leaders in check.

The Impetus of Rearmament

The up-swing of profits under the impetus of the rearmament program gave labor its economic argument for its war-time organizing drive. The 1941 Federal budget, providing expenditures of \$13,600,000,000 as against \$9,666,000,000 for 1940 and \$3,848,000,000 for pre-depression 1929, said the *AFL Monthly Survey of Business* for August, 1940,¹⁵ means "High Profits Ahead." Using figures from the National City Bank of New York, it continued:

Already . . . corporation profits are approaching all-time peaks. Prospective profits of 400 leading industrial corporations for 1940 amount to \$2,280,000,000, which almost equals the average of 1916-1917, high points of the last war, and approaches the prosperity peak of 1927-29 (average \$2,565,000,000 yearly) and the recovery peak of 1937 (\$2,412,000,000). Full-year 1940 profits will exceed last year by 23 per cent.

The *Survey* added:

Corporations have not increased wages as much as their earnings permitted. A larger flow of income to workers is vital. Newly created wealth must lift the living standards of low-income groups. We need the flow of their buying power into non-defense consumer goods industries to keep these industries growing in a normal way, prevent top-heavy defense development, build up our national well-being.

The March 1941 *Survey* showed what some of the companies are now making in profits per employee. General Motors, it said, indicated in its report to stockholders it had made \$717 per employee in 1940; American Telephone and Telegraph, \$689; DuPont, \$1,363; General Electric, \$747; and United States Steel, \$402.

Business groups point out, however, that taxes are cutting heavily into profits. The General Motors Corporation, for example, reports that its net sales were higher in 1940 than at any time in its history, but that its income and excess profits taxes were more than twice as high as in any other year. The earnings avail-

¹⁵ The *Survey* was renamed *Labor's Monthly Survey* in March, 1941.

able for dividends were less in 1940 than in the late 'twenties and in 1937.

At present, labor points out, less than 8 per cent of the country's workers have an income sufficient for even modest living. This fact was stressed recently by James B. Carey, secretary of the CIO, in a broadcast over the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company. An annual income of \$2,200, he said, has been accepted by governmental studies as the amount needed to enable a family of five to live in what he called "modest decency."¹⁶

Less than 8 per cent of the workers of the United States [he continued] had an income of \$2,200 a year. Less than 23 per cent got \$1,400 a year. Less than 29 per cent had \$1,200 to spend on themselves and their families each year. One third of all the workers in the nation earned less than \$400 a year—and \$400 is less than one-fifth of \$2,200.

"Employees Shall Have the Right"

So, says labor, it fights for wage increases. The CIO, its Executive Board said in the *Economic Outlook* of January, 1941, will

continue to strive . . . to improve the wage structure for our members and obtain improved working conditions. This involves obtaining for the workers an increasing share of mounting profits. Such increases [the CIO Board added] can readily be obtained without necessitating increases in the cost of living or in the price structure.

Sizeable increases should in fact be made, said the *AFL Monthly Survey*, to compensate for the recent rapid cutting of labor costs through new labor-saving devices. A Department of Labor study cited by the *AFL Survey* showed that the cost per unit of product had been reduced 13 per cent in steel between 1938 and 1939; in chemicals, 8 per cent, and in ten other industries, an average of 5 per cent.

Union organizing drives must be pressed now harder than ever, labor officials say, not only because bargaining is more needed, but also because the rapid shifts in employment characteristic of wartime industrial readjustments would otherwise destroy many unions and give labor a serious setback.

Labor propaganda makes much capital of the Wagner Act. This is an appeal to the psychological factor of Custom. The act gives governmental recognition to trade unions as a necessary feature of present-day living. Section 7 of this act says:

Employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain

¹⁶ Mr. Carey's speech was made on April 2, 1941.

collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection.

Industry, on the other hand, is conducting a campaign to maintain the status quo in industrial relations during the war period. The National Association of Manufacturers advocated this position in a program made public in December, 1940.¹⁷

In the World War [it said] the Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense declared April 2, 1917, as its first national labor policy, that the status quo in bargaining relationships between employers and employees should be maintained during the war. We are not now at war, but the national defense program is of major national importance, and we believe that again in the interests of national defense the status quo in bargaining relationships should be maintained so long as the preparedness program is a major national policy.

To this end, the NAM urged specifically "that the government should not interfere with standards that exist by mutual agreement or custom in the relations between labor and employers."

The Right to Work

The NAM program included amendment of the Federal Wages and Hours Law and the National Labor Relations Act. It wished to cure what it called their defects "to aid national defense."

Explaining its views regarding the Wagner Act, which protects employees in their right to join unions free from employer interference, the NAM report said:

Government should protect the right of workers to bargain individually or collectively through representatives of their own choosing. In the process of bargaining, whether it be collective or individual, either party should be free to accept or reject proposals made by the other, provided only that there shall be a genuine effort on both sides to reach a mutually satisfactory arrangement. Where employees desire to bargain or negotiate collectively, either directly or through voluntarily chosen representatives, the form of employee organization should be left entirely to the employees, and should not be directed or controlled by any governmental agency. Government should protect the right to engage in lawful strikes, by lawful means, but its primary obligation is protection of the right to work.

The monograph, *Economic Power and Political Pressures*, which the Temporary National Economic Committee submitted to Congress, took the view that the goal of the propaganda of business and industry is to keep labor weak. This, the monograph indicates, is to preserve their own dominance in national af-

¹⁷ From a press release of the National Association of Manufacturers, December 5, 1940.

fairs. The Committee's report shows business and industry to have conducted a strong campaign to this end since 1895, and particularly, in its present phase, since 1933 when the NRA gave labor governmental protection.

Public policy in the field of industrial relations [says the monograph,¹⁸] has been formulated by Congress over the bitter opposition of organized industry, an opposition which is still continuing in a determined effort to change that policy. The economic power of business and the "educational" persuasiveness of newspaper, advertising, and legal allies enabled it between 1933 and 1937 to frustrate the initial efforts of the Government to regulate labor relations. The Supreme Court validation of the Labor Relations Act in 1937 marked a set-back to industry, but its forces are by no means discouraged. On the contrary, they show signs of increasing confidence in their ability sooner or later to outmaneuver labor and the government, and again bring public policy more closely into line with business desires.

The National Association of Manufacturers, the monograph said, had for thirty years

fought wage-hour legislation and had opposed restrictions on injunctions and the application of anti-trust laws against labor. It had fought against regulation of hours and wages of women and children in industry. It had opposed protection of the workers' right to organize and bargain collectively. The only factor that differentiated the activities of the association from 1933 onward was the intensity with which it carried on its obstructive tactics.¹⁹

The conflict, says the monograph, "arises out of the attempt to apply democratic principles to industrial relations."²⁰

Special Conference Committee

Business groups take a fairly unified attitude toward industrial relations, the monograph continues, working through the NAM and various sympathetic organizations. A factor in unifying these groups, it says, is the Special Conference Committee of New York, on which the Senate Civil Liberties Committee reported.²¹ The Special Conference Committee, the TNEC monograph points out, is composed of twelve of the country's largest manufacturing and utility corporations. It works "behind the scenes to exchange information and to coordinate, so far as possible, their respective labor policies, and to join forces with the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in their lobbying at Washington."²²

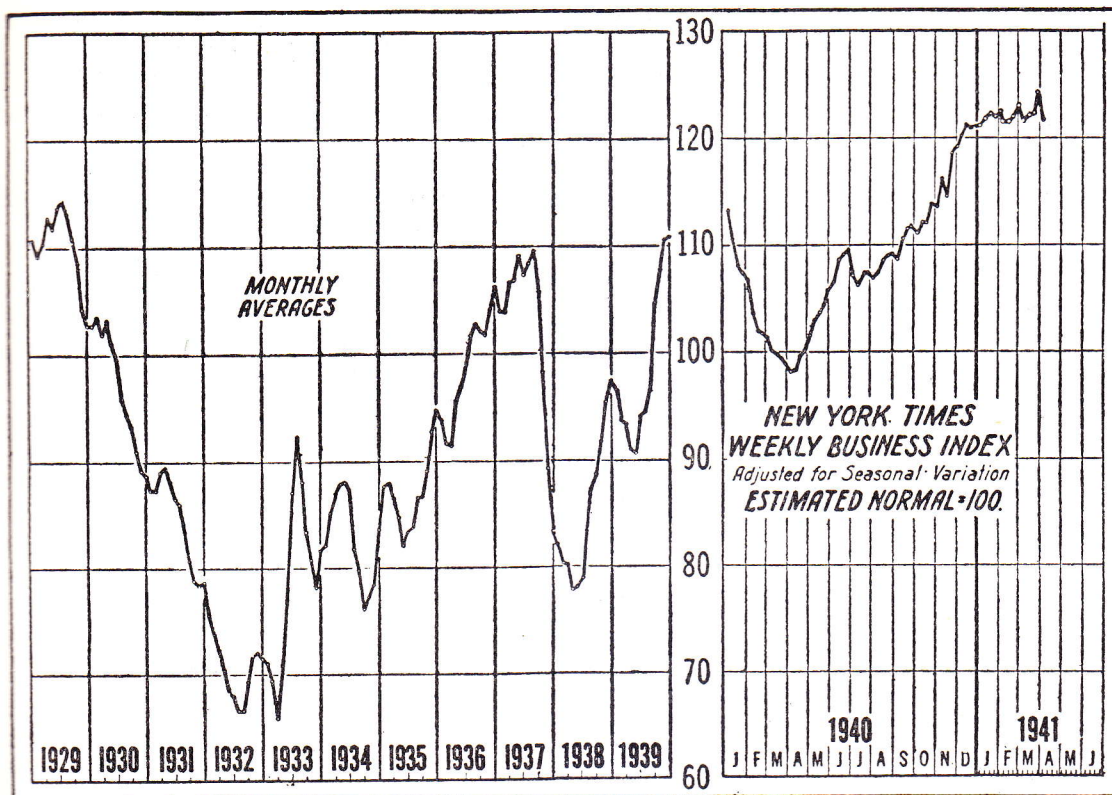
¹⁸ Op. Cit., p. 81.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 96.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 92.

²¹ Hearings before Senate Committee on Education and Labor on Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor.

²² Op. cit., p. 81.



To judge by the *World Telegram* cartoon of April 12, 1941 (reprinted on the right), the United States was in a dangerous plight indeed; labor strikes were making it well-nigh impossible to defend America. The cartoon would lead one to believe that industrial production was taking a fearful drop as a result of strikes. The *New York Times* index, published the next day (see chart above), showed only a slight decline—four points from the preceding week—with production well above the highest peak of 1929.

The twelve member corporations of the Conference Committee are the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, Bethlehem Steel Company, E. I. DuPont de Nemours & Company, General Electric Company, General Motors Corporation, Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, International Harvester Company, Irving Trust Company, Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), United States Rubber Company, United States Steel Corporation, and Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company.²³

As Public Opinion Goes . . .

The protagonists in the labor-capital conflict conduct their struggles through two mediums, strikes and legislation. These are the immediate focal points of the propagandas.

A strike is labor's strongest weapon. The

²³ Ibid, p. 106.

GOING TO BAT WITH A HUNDRED STRIKES ON HIM



NEWS ITEM: Mine and General Motors walkouts threatened.

union says it is defensive; the employer says it is offensive. In any event, if it is successful it stops the work of the plant until the company

negotiates a satisfactory agreement. On such victories the unions live and flourish. If the strike fails, the union is usually set back; it may die altogether. And success or failure depends on two cardinal factors of opinion: the convictions of the employes themselves as to their cause, and the convictions of the public. On the latter depend usually the actions of the public officials involved. If the public favors the strikers, the officials give the employer little or no aid; when it is hostile, they give much aid.

National Defense Jeopardized?

So an intense propaganda conflict is waged. It is conducted on the one hand by persons who have criticisms of the unions' actions or proposals for restrictive measures, and on the other hand by the defenders of the unions. Today it centers mainly around the strikes in defense industries. The strikes, say the critics of the unions, are jeopardizing the national rearmament effort by delays. Said Walter D. Fuller, president of the National Association of Manufacturers and of the Curtis Publishing Company (publishers of the *Saturday Evening Post*),²⁴ "It is alarming for fathers of draftees in this country to find out that enough time has already been lost through strikes to build 480 destroyers and half a million modern Garand rifles for their boys to carry."

President Roosevelt, Sidney Hillman, Associate Director of the Office of Production Management, *The Wall Street Journal* and *Business Week* made reassuring statements. President Roosevelt said that only one four hundredth of the defense industry's had been affected by strikes at the same time.²⁵ The OPM made public a list of strikes on March 27 showing 40,000 workers out in important defense industries on that date. This is about one-tenth of 1 per cent of the total workers in the country. *The Wall Street Journal* reported its own survey in eight key industrial areas on March 12, under the headline, "No Serious Strike Damage to Armament Output Yet; Trouble Looms; Wages Rise." *Business Week* on March 1, 1941, said:

Actually, in the first six months of the defense program there have been fewer man-days lost in strikes than in any other comparable period since the passage of the

²⁴ Speech before a "defense clinic" in Houston, Texas, *New York Times*, March 27.

²⁵ *PM*, March 5.

Wagner Act, and labor disputes have not been nearly as serious as they were in 1917. . . .

But headlines make better reading than historical facts. And headlines have created a steadily mounting concern about labor difficulties in the defense industries.

Pro-labor publications pointed out that many of the strikes were caused by efforts of the companies to thwart the Wagner Act.

Said Rose M. Stein in *The Nation*:²⁶

Labor is unquestionably trying to advance its position by seeking union recognition from recalcitrant employers. There can be no question about the validity of this endeavor, since it merely aims to effectuate what is already public policy. Neither can there be any doubt that the employers who are refusing to deal with unions are defying public policy.

Other writers maintained that some old enemies of unionism were provoking strikes in order to brand the unions as interfering with national defense—and thus break the strikes, and the unions. The Senate majority leader, Mr. Barkley, pointed to the bad labor records of some of the big companies involved. He mentioned Ford, Allis-Chalmers and Bethlehem Steel particularly. It was entirely possible, he stated—speaking in the Senate on April 2, 1941²⁷—that a good case could be built up against most of the larger industries "which have been defying the laws of the United States." He did not believe, he asserted, that labor's side had been properly presented.

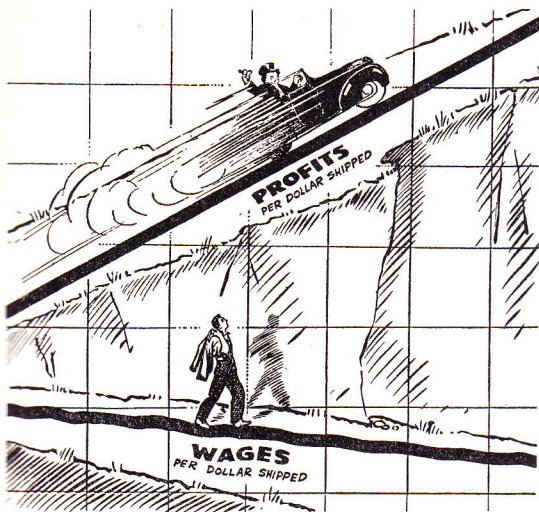
Bottlenecks

His reference to companies "defying the laws" harked back to labor's efforts to have defense contracts withheld from violators of the Wagner Act. A ruling withholding all government contracts from such violators was long demanded. A ruling to this effect was announced by Sidney Hillman, labor member of the National Defense Advisory Committee. The ruling was based on an opinion by Attorney General Robert H. Jackson. Under a Congressional attack it was quickly dropped however.

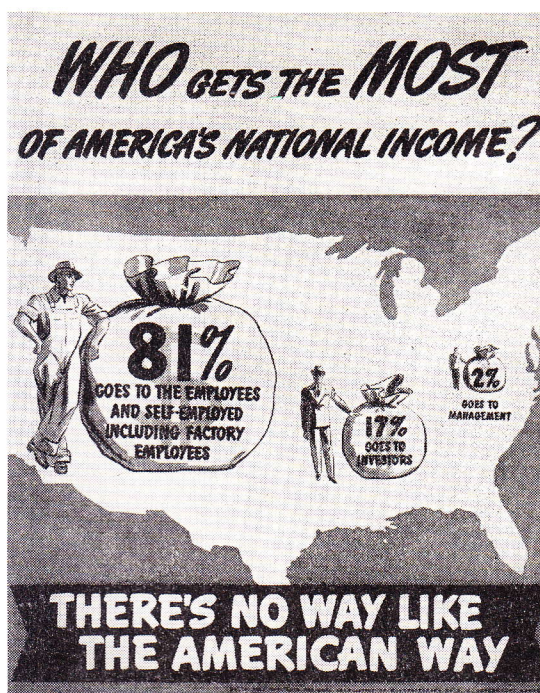
In answer to efforts to minimize the extent of defense strikes many papers and commentators like the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* and Scripps-Howard Columnists General Hugh S. Johnson and Raymond Clapper, who criticised the unions, pointed out that a small strike at one plant might delay vital parts that would

²⁶ *Nation*, March 29, 1941.

²⁷ *New York Times*, April 3, 1941.



The chart above, reprinted from the cover of a CIO leaflet, would make it appear that labor's wages are declining. The NAM poster, reprinted on the right, would make it appear that labor has no justified complaint on the score of wages paid. The facts are: (1) According to Isador Lubin, U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, "For the period of August 1939 to February 1941 living cost is up 2.2 per cent; in the durable goods industries, the average hourly earnings are up 9 per cent; in the non-durable goods industries, the average hourly earnings are up 6.9 per cent." (2) According to the National



Resources Committee, 41.8 per cent of the families in the U. S. receive an annual income of \$1,000 or less.

hold up a whole section of the arms program.

But, say union officials, other bottlenecks over which labor has no control have caused more delays than strikes. They cite the delay in getting defense production started, a delay that the TNEC monograph blamed on business.

In the 1940 national defense crisis [the monograph said],²⁸ business displayed much the same attitude that it had shown 23 years earlier. Business would help the Government and the people, but the basis of payment therefor would have to be fixed before the wheels would begin to turn. Profits, taxes, loans, and so forth, appeared more important to business than getting guns, tanks, and airplane motors into production. . . .

It developed that business did not want to work for the country on the basis of a 7 or 8 per cent profit limitation written into the Vinson-Trammell Naval Expansion Act in 1935, so these provisions were repealed. Thus, the whole cost-plus basis of defense contracts which industry liked so well during the last war when it had practically a free hand in determining costs, went by the board in 1940 when the allowable items of cost were determined by the Treasury Department. . . .

Business . . . controls the natural resources, the liquid assets, the strategic position in the country's economic structure, and its technical equipment and knowledge of processes. . . . Business is apparently not unwilling to threaten the very foundations of government in fixing the terms on which it will work.

Walter Reuther, director of the General Motors Department of the United Automobile

Workers, pointed out in a public debate on March 20, 1941,²⁹ that some of the most serious hindrances to armament production in America were the agreements some American companies had with German companies whereby our plants were seriously limited in the production of certain military necessities. Mr. Reuther cited specifically the agreement between the Aluminum Company of America and the I. G. Farbenindustrie of Germany whereby American production of magnesium, a highly important mineral for airplane parts and some kinds of bombs, was kept low. Magnesium is a third lighter than aluminum.

Department of Justice Acts

A report on this and similar agreements in other industries was made to the Patent Committee of the House of Representatives on March 11, 1941 by Assistant Attorney General Francis M. Shea. His statement was made in support of legislation to free companies from the operation of the patent monopoly in the

²⁸ Speech before Town Hall of the Air, Minneapolis, in a debate with Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota and Ernest L. Olrich, President of the Munsing Wear Corporation and State Defense Coordinator.

²⁹ Op. cit., pp. 171-3.

production of goods needed for national defense.

The Aluminum Company agreement has allowed only one company to produce magnesium in this country, Mr. Shea said. This is the Dow Chemical Company. Its production was limited in 1940 to 6,000, while German production was 25,000 tons, and possibly double that figure. One of the great needs of the British today is for magnesium, Mr. Shea said, but the Dow Company was by express agreement limited to shipping them 300 tons per year. The restrictions on the manufacture of magnesium in this country, Mr. Shea said, have resulted in a serious shortage of suitable foundry facilities. The Department of Justice in January secured indictments against six corporations and nine individuals in the magnesium industry for violation of the anti-trust laws.

Concealed Patent Ownership

Mr. Shea also told of similar German-controlled restrictions on the American production of tungsten carbide, the hardest substance known next to diamond, used for the cutting edges of machine tools; and on beryllium, an exceedingly valuable metal that gives great durability to copper and other metals even when used in small quantities, in demand for airplane parts. Even Bausch and Lomb Company, the dominant American manufacturer of optical equipment needed for range finders, periscopes, altimeters, torpedo directors, gun sights, telescopes and bore sights, has an agreement with Carl Zeiss of Germany which has seriously limited the development of facilities for manufacturing these articles in the United States. Mr. Shea claimed that this agreement, formed in 1921, has required the Bausch and Lomb military department to be supervised by persons acceptable to the Zeiss company. The agreement concealed the German ownership of patents held in the United States.

An additional factor in delaying American defense production, union men say, is the failure to use available facilities. Mr. Reuther of the CIO Automobile Workers declared in his debate that not more than 10 per cent of the potential output of the gigantic American automobile industry had been producing defense materials; the rest, he said, was "doing business as usual" in commercial automobiles.

A cut of 20 per cent in the commercial production has just been agreed to by the automobile industry, Mr. Knudsen announced on April 17, 1941. It will take effect in the production year starting August 1, he said.³⁰

CIO President Philip Murray has proposed the setting up of joint industry-labor councils to speed production, but his proposal has not been taken up. He reported in the *New York Times* of January 29, 1941, after a detailed study of the steel industry, that the total employment of workers and salaried employees in the steel industry was still 26,106 below the peak of 603,106 reached in August, 1937.

Large steel firms are overloaded with orders [he said]; backlogs of orders are running from two to four months, while smaller steel firms are operating their open-hearth departments as little as 45 per cent of capacity. . . . One steel firm has such a disproportionate amount of the steel armaments contracts that it presents a bottleneck to the defense program all by itself.

Mr. Murray's formula, which he sent to President Roosevelt, the cabinet, and the OPM, was for the organization of the entire iron, steel, and tin producing industry into one great production unit.

Communist Manipulation Charged

Next to the question of whether defense production has been seriously delayed by strikes, the biggest point of critics of the unions has been that the strikes have been manipulated by Communists to delay production. Many prominent persons have declared this to be the case. OPM Director William S. Knudsen in his Army Day speech on April 5, 1941, made a brief reference to "radicals" in Milwaukee in connection with the Allis-Chalmers strike. This was the strike in which Mr. Knudsen joined with Secretary Knox in asking the Union and the plant to resume work without a peace formula after a specific formula had earlier been submitted by the OPM and had been accepted by the union but rejected by the company. Mr. Knudsen said:

The important part was that the radical leaders with the help of other unions in Milwaukee and vicinity could show the state and the nation where to get off—and both our friends and their foes across the water have this wonderful piece of morale builder served with their next morning's breakfast.

Chairman Dies of the House Committee on

³⁰ Reported in an Associated Press dispatch on April 17, 1941, in the *New York Daily News*, April 18, p. 2.

un-American Activities made specific charges in connection with several strikes.

One of his attacks was on the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. He said on March 24, 1941, that his Committee had "indisputable evidence" that the Communist party was working toward a complete tie-up in the steel industry, which has billions of dollars worth of defense contracts.

He told the House of Representatives that he had a record of active Communists who, had penetrated the steel industry through the SWOC:

Our committee [he continued] is in possession of indisputable evidence that that Communist party, through its members and organizers in the S.W.O.C., are working toward a complete tie-up in the steel industry, an industry which has billions of dollars in defense contracts.

Our committee is in possession of evidence which shows that hundreds of employes in steel mills have recently signed the Communist party's election petitions.

It is an indictment of this labor organization that it ever allowed so many Communists of public record to infiltrate into its organizing work.³¹

Mr. Dies later named 27 Communists who, he said, were on the SWOC payroll. CIO President Philip Murray, chairman of the SWOC, replied equally specifically. Eleven of the persons named had never been employed by the SWOC, Mr. Murray reported; fifteen of the others had not been with the SWOC for the past three to five years. In any case, he said, he had no knowledge that any of the individuals named was a Communist.

"Red" Influence Pooh-Poohed

Time, while holding that events demonstrated the presence of at least some Communists in the strikes, remarked that Mr. Dies "blazed away every time a bush shook."

Mr. Reuther of the Automobile Workers insisted that the "red scare" was essentially a new anti-union device developed by employers to keep the workers from forming strong unions. He said:

Many years ago . . . they started scares of various kinds. One scare the bosses raised was the Catholics against the Protestants. Another scare they used very successfully was the American-born against the foreign-born. Then they placed one foreign-born group against another, like the Poles against the Germans, and so on.

All that is played out now. It has been worked too often. So now the bosses are raising a new scare: the red scare.

What the bosses really mean, however, is not that a

³¹ New York Times, March 25, 1941.

leader is red. They mean they don't like him because he is a loyal, dependable union man, a fighter who helps his union brothers and sisters and is not afraid of the boss.³²

Secretary Knox pointed out that the number of strikes in 1940 was only half as great as in 1917 when the country was at war. The Communist movement had not started in the United States at that time and the trade union membership was about a third what it is today. The Springfield *Republican* pointed out on March 13, 1941, also, that the duration of strikes in January was 9.6 man days per strike as against an average of 16.6 man-days per strike in January in the five years 1935-39.

Many critics of the unions have made much of jurisdictional strikes. The critics say that in these the employer is the innocent victim and that there should be a legal barrier to such strikes. President William Green of the AFL has made repeated statements of plans by which the AFL, which has many such strikes between its own unions, is attempting to eliminate them. The CIO industrial union plan, the CIO officials say, minimizes such strikes, since their unions cover a whole industry.

Strike Restrictions Urged

In the fights between the AFL and the CIO, the Labor Board has said in some instances the employer was not the victim but was conniving with one of the unions. It has voided a number of contracts on this ground. The United States Supreme Court on November 12, 1940 upheld the Board's voiding of a contract of a local of the International Association of Machinists, AFL; it supported the view that the company had discharged and otherwise intimidated its workers to induce them to favor the AFL union over a CIO local.

Should there be restrictive legal measures on strikes? One of the hottest debates of recent years has centered on this operation. Numerous speakers, including Secretary Knox and OPM Director Knudsen, have advocated labor restrictions of various kinds, and their proposals have been given prominence in press and radio reports.

A Gallup poll released on March 28, 1941 showed 72 per cent of the public think strikes should not be allowed in defense industries.

³² *In Fact*, April 14, 1941.

An earlier poll, however, showed that 61 per cent believe that workers on defense projects should have the right to protest if they believe themselves underpaid.³³

A 30-day "cooling-off period" has been the main theme of proponents of new governmental measures. The National Association of Manufacturers, in sponsoring this idea (it suggested a 40-day period) described the period as one in which mediation could take place. Advocates of this plan suggest that strikes are voted in the heat of fights over terms and that if a delaying period were required mediators could often effect a settlement.

Such a measure was introduced in Minnesota by the Republican administration that succeeded the Farmer-Labor Party administration in that state. Governor Stassen, who sponsored the Minnesota Act, in his Town Hall debate over the air in Minneapolis on March 24, 1941, defended the measure by reading a telegram from a United Mine Workers official thanking him for "your personal efforts and those of the [state] commission during the thirty-day period."

The Electric Chair?

Labor thinks the proposal is a veiled weapon intended to give an employer time to disrupt a strike during the time between the vote and the effective date. Actually, said Mr. Reuther of the Automobile Workers in debating with Governor Stassen, it ignores the long periods already consumed in negotiations before a strike vote is taken. In the Allis-Chalmers strike, he said, the union negotiated for five weeks first; with International Harvester, the negotiations had gone on for more than six months; with Ford the union had been "cooling off for the past two years."

Representative Dies proposed a bill to make it illegal for employers to hire Communists or "fellow-travelers." Representative Hatton W. Sumners, another Texan, and chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, stated in Congress that "if the American people knew the truth there would be no more strikes;" he suggested the possibility of sending to the "electric chair" "enemies of the nation in the factory or elsewhere." He later said he was not thinking

³³ Fifty-one per cent favored increasing governmental regulation of industry in the national defense program.

of rank and file union members. The Federal-State Conference on Law Enforcement Problems of National Defense on December 14, 1940, put forward four proposed state acts. One, called the Model Sabotage Prevention Act, is now pending in a number of states. A committee appointed by Secretary Perkins to study it said it "would seriously curtail or prohibit the rights of labor to strike."³⁴ The Texas legislature passed an act submitted by Governor O'Daniel providing two years imprisonment for "any person acting in concert with one or more other persons to assemble at or near any place where a 'labor dispute' exists and by force or violence attempt to prevent any person from engaging in any lawful vocation."

"Rash" of Labor Curbs

In Georgia a bill was introduced to forbid the collection of union dues among defense workers; it was amended to permit "voluntary contributions" and then passed.

These state measures were listed by the New York *World Telegram* in a story by Thomas L. Stokes on March 21, 1941, headed: "Rash of Labor Curbs Breaks Out in States. Reflects Public Alarm and Desire of Interests to Throttle Unions."

Various research bodies threw doubt on the effectiveness of restrictive measures. Said a study on "Labor and National Defense" issued in early 1941 by the Twentieth Century Fund:

In no democratic country has it proven possible to prevent strikes simply by legislation. Under an authoritarian regime disturbances may be minimized, though never entirely prevented, by the constant threat of imprisonment and death. In a country unwilling to resort to such methods there is no way by which a thousand workers who quit work in a body can be prevented from doing so."³⁵

Australia, the Twentieth Century Fund study reported, "has had a compulsory arbitration statute since 1904. . . . Yet during the past twenty-five years Australia has had far more strikes relative to her population than either the United States or Great Britain."³⁶

According to *Time Magazine* of April 21, 1941, William Hammatt Davis, vice chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board, told

³⁴ New York Times, January 28, 1941.

³⁵ Twentieth Century Fund: *Labor and National Defense*. New York, 1941. pp. 99-100.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 100.

the House Military Affairs Committee:

When you pass compulsory legislation, you make the working man a slave, and there is no use producing defense materials for a nation of slaves, because if there is anything certain in history, it is that a national establishment which has to depend on slaves to produce its materials is inevitably destroyed.

In George Creel's Day

President Roosevelt in his April 1 press conference³⁷ argued against restrictive measures. Pleased with the progress of the National Defense Mediation Board, he wanted to give conciliation plans a fair trial.

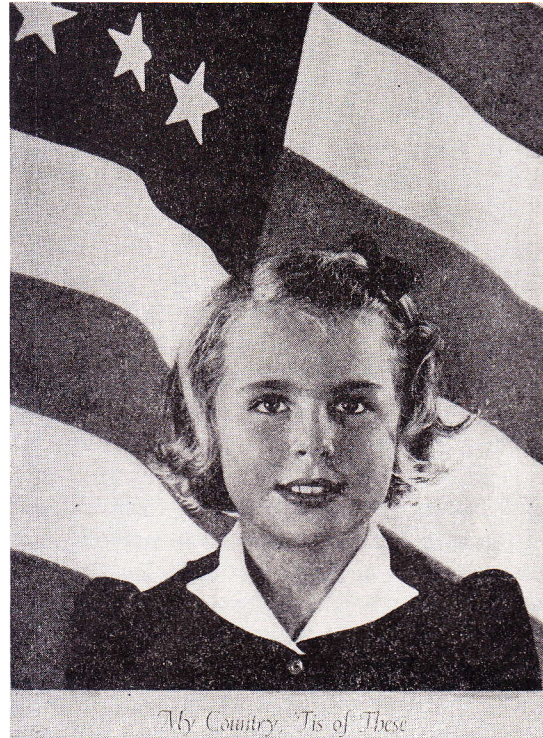
In opposing measures other than mediation, President Roosevelt was following in the footsteps of President Wilson. In the first World War numerous demands were made for restrictive measures. Many of these demands, made by business groups and individuals, appear in the files of the Creel Committee—the Committee on Public Information of the first World War. That Committee knew it had to “keep labor in line if the war was to be won,” said Messrs. Mock and Larson in their study of the

³⁷ *New York Times*, April 2, 1941.

³⁸ James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War: The Story of The Committee on Public Information, 1917-19*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1939. p. 189.

Committee's work.³⁸ They added:

That was perhaps the biggest of all the big jobs assigned to the CPI and the formal record does not even suggest the careful attention with which the campaign was followed.



The National Association of Manufacturers distributes full-colored photographs of a child against the background of the American flag. (See the picture above) The blue coat and white collar of the child match the blue and white of the flag; the red button of the child's coat and the healthy pink of her skin blend with the flag's red stripes. Here the child, symbol of happy American home life, together with the flag, symbol of the nation's ideals and protective might, carries prestige and sanction to things as they are. In the cartoon to the left, printed in the February 1941 issue of the *American Federationist*, official organ of the American Federation of Labor, the man with the whip symbolizes the campaign against labor unions and seeks to transfer to capitalists the odium attached to slave drivers.



But Creel declared:

The most important task we have before us today in the fight for unity is that of convincing the great mass of workers that our interest in democracy and justice begins at home.³⁹

The editor of the then popular *McClure's Magazine* wrote proposing a campaign utilizing a newspaper cartoon that showed Doughboys fighting in France with "no question of hours and overtime." The editor asked Creel:

Do you want us to build a sentiment for the conscription of labor or do you want to prevent the necessity

³⁹ Ibid, p. 211.

of conscripting labor by giving wide circulation to such sentiment, as are in the . . . cartoon?⁴⁰

Creel replied:

I have reason to know that the workers of the United States are bitterly resentful of this sort of thing. They feel that if they are to surrender their demands in the matter of hours and overtime, that employers, manufacturers, wholesalers, retailers, and others, should make like concessions in the matter of profits. . . . This Committee cannot take part in the industrial dispute.⁴⁰

That was the national policy for the first World War. The propaganda struggle to decide the policy for this war is now at its height.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 211-12.

Propaganda Analysis Guide

IT IS easy enough, usually, to recognize propaganda. One has but to know such common devices as Name Calling, Glittering Generalities, Testimonial, and Transfer to be aware that propagandists are seeking to have us condemn or approve groups, individuals, and policies. True, recognition may be difficult when the Card Stacking device is used, for this may so employ deception or censorship as to prevent awareness of the fact that propagandists are at work. Such propagandists may say, "What people don't know won't hurt them." It won't help them, either. However, much propaganda is easily recognizable if one knows the common propaganda devices (see PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, Vol. 1, p. 5).

Analysis, however, is not so easy. It involves not only knowledge of the particular conflict about which the propaganda centers, but a background of facts related to that conflict. We must know how the conflict began, what its history has been, who the interested parties are, just what their interests are, why they want to influence our thinking in their behalf. We must know what our interests are. We must know enough about our habits of thinking and acting, enough about our own emotions, to safeguard ourselves from acting in response to propaganda in a way detrimental to our interests. If we believe in democracy, we will recognize that our interests coincide with the interests of the majority. In short, we must

know who wants what and how he seeks to get it.

Propaganda Employs Symbols

Symbols are substitutes for words. Like words, they stand for various ideas, things, actions, ideals, goals. Some stand for whole complexes of ideas, actions, ideals, goals. Thus the cross is a symbol which stands for actions and ideals we have learned to associate with Christianity. As the simple word, "tree" or "auto," printed or spoken, evokes instantly a mind picture of a tree or an auto, so the symbol of the Cross instantly may recall the ideas and emotions we associate with Christianity. If we approve of Christianity, and if its symbol is associated with some goal or cause a propagandist would have us approve, we tend, automatically, to approve the goal or cause, too.

Similarly, the flag, symbol of the nation, can transfer the prestige of our nation, of respect and reverence for it, to one side or another in a conflict. A green light is a symbol "to go," a red light is a symbol "to stop." Green light means "safety;" red light means "danger." These meanings and our responses to them are implanted in our minds, through education and training. Finally, they get into our spinal cords. Our responses to them become automatic. We go on green, stop on red—automatically. It is this factor of "automatic response"

that propagandists count on when they employ symbols. They seek our instant, automatic approval or disapproval of the individual, group or goal they would have us approve or condemn.

For Discussion with Your Friends

Collect cartoons, editorials, news stories and letters-to-editors appearing in the present labor-capital conflict. Observe how symbols are used. You will find the American flag pictured or mentioned to give prestige to industrialists who are fighting organized labor; you may find it used to give prestige to organized labor fighting industrialists. You will find many cartoons with the figure Uncle Sam. This figure represents the consolidated common sense and general welfare of the nation. Does Uncle Sam approve or disapprove of strikes? Does Uncle Sam approve or disapprove of employers who fight unions? Does Uncle Sam think it is unpatriotic for workers to organize so they can negotiate with employers for wage increases? Does he think such organization compatible with national defense? Does Uncle Sam think it unpatriotic for employers to organize so they can negotiate for desired profits before they undertake production of munitions for national defense? Is Uncle Sam himself ever pictured as an umpire in these negotiations? Does Uncle Sam approve or disapprove of the National Labor Relations Act and the Wages and Hours Act which were passed to facilitate negotiations between capital and labor? Does Uncle Sam frown upon or approve high union dues and initiation fees which tend to create monopoly conditions in craft unions? Does Uncle Sam frown upon patent rights and high patent fees which tend to make monopoly conditions in production?

And what about the symbol, John Q. Public, the pathetic little figure who seems always to be getting the worst of it? Is the public distinct from employers, from labor unions?

Do Uncle Sam and John Q. Public approve or disapprove of workers seeking high wages and employers seeking high profits while soldiers must serve for \$30 a month? Do propagandists, utilizing these symbols, say that the soldiers get room, board, medical attention, hospitalization, insurance, pension rights, and possibly bonuses? Do they say that they have

no families dependent upon their wages while most wage-workers and employers must support families?

To many employers, especially those in the National Association of Manufacturers, the flag is a symbol used to transfer the sanction of the nation to "free enterprise." What is "free enterprise?" It means freedom to do what? Does it tend to encourage competition? Does it tend toward monopoly? Can tendency toward monopoly be reconciled with free competition? Is free enterprise helped or hampered by development of monopolies, by low tariffs on raw materials, by high tariffs on manufactured goods? By having labor organized or unorganized? N.A.M. billboards have pictured an American workingman coming home to his happy wife and child (symbol of the average American family). With the picture is a slogan: "What helps business helps you." Would it be as pertinent to say: "What helps you helps business?" And, should the *government* help either; if so, how? By tariffs, subsidies, court action against strikes? By a National Labor Relations Board?

Lincoln is a symbol often used by labor unions. His picture, or one of his famous sayings, can evoke automatically the whole complex of ideas and associations connected with

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.
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himself, a humble worker who rose to give his life to create a nation where there would be no slavery, where men would receive just wages for their toil. When are wages just? Are union labor propagandists justified in saying that just wages make for prosperity for the many? Are they justified in saying that slave labor or very low wages make for prosperity for the few? Are industrialists justified in saying very high wages can ruin business and create unemployment?

To Avoid Snap Judgments

In trying to answer such questions, you may discover biases in yourself and others; you may discover some newspapers, some radio stations favoring one side or another. But check such discoveries against your own biases. One safeguard against snap judgments is knowing how one's mind works. Read Chapters 1 and 2 of *How to Think Straight*, Robert L. Thouless, Simon and Schuster, New York; Chapter 1 in *Folkways*, W. G. Sumner, Ginn and Co., New York; *The Mind in the Making*, James Harvey Robinson, Harpers, New York.

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SINCE it was established in October, 1937, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis has dealt with those issues and conflicts which, in days to come, will stand out as the crucial issues of the period.

For example, in its *Bulletin* for May, 1938, the Institute analyzed the "Propaganda Techniques of German Fascism." That analysis, like others of the Institute, was cautious in prophesying, but it did indicate trends which today have been realized.

To help cut through the fog of confusion in the day's news, the analytical method, as developed by the Institute, has proved of value. This method and Institute publications are now used by students in many schools and colleges, by members of study groups, by leaders of public forums, and citizens who wish to utilize this objective, non-controversial approach to see more clearly the factors in the controversial issues of our times.

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A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

211 FOURTH AVENUE: NEW YORK CITY

Volume IV

Number 7

Speaking of Rudolf Hess

yes

WHEN Rudolf Hess dropped from the skies onto the 157,000-acre estate of the Duke of Hamilton in Scotland, he probably performed one of the most brilliant propaganda acts of our time.

After every big war victory, Hitler has made a peace appeal, and each time has been rebuffed. It was natural to expect another such appeal after Hitler's Balkan victories. And it was also natural to expect it to fail, like its predecessors, if only because of the mounting British hatred of Hitler over months of savage bombing. But it might succeed if made by a powerful Nazi leader who was an ostensible "enemy" of Hitler, and who was favorably known to the old British appeasement circles. Hess was so known because of his strong anti-Communist position in the past.

Peace was one possibility. But there were other surer ones. First, Hess' flight could discredit one of the mainstays of Britain's hopes for an early victory—the constant belief that the Nazi machine would crack up. If the Nazis now weather Hess' supposed defection this fond expectation will be badly damaged. Second, and even more important, Britain's recent wounds over appeasement could be reopened. Hess' attempt to visit the appeasers was a sharp reminder that many of them still remain in high places.

The flight had all the characteristics of the *propaganda of provocation*. This is an old device by which a propagandist "plants" a certain impression through arranging an event which will naturally be interpreted by most people in the way he desires. It is the method of the *provocateur*. Usually he stirs people to hasty, emo-

tional action. Sometimes he plans his surreptitious event to put the enemy in a bad light, or to stir up dissension in his camp or call down neutral disapprobation on him.

The Reichstag fire early in 1933, shortly after Hitler's accession to power, will go down in history as an especially effective use of provocative propaganda. It is generally believed today that the Nazis themselves set the blaze. But the common stereotype is that such a violent act would be done by an enemy. Hitler took advantage of this to blame the fire on the Brown Shirts' bitterest political enemies, the Communists. The general Nazi position was thus strengthened sufficiently to allow the beginning of the political reign of terror which rendered all opposition leaderless and made Nazi domination complete.

In England, and in much of the world, stereotypes were ready for the Hess incident. Millions of people have been kept believing that the Nazis sit precariously in their seats ready to be overthrown by the first adverse wind. When Hess landed, they decided almost to a man that the crack had started. From now on, if the "crack" fails to materialize, they will tend to doubt stories of Nazi weakness.

In England, too, the feeling between the "appeasers" and the haters of Nazism is not forgotten. The Duke of Hamilton, to whose estate Hess went, was a member of the Anglo-German Fellowship, which urged close collaboration with the Nazis as a bulwark against Communism. Prominent leaders of British social and political life were members of this Fellowship; they let Hitler rearm Germany, and

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held off opposition while he expanded his power in Austria, Spain, and Czechoslovakia. If a Hitler emissary could not make peace through these people he could at least revive bitter memories by repaying Chamberlain's airplane visit to Munich.

The Forged Pelley Letters

One of the most effective examples of provocative propaganda in recent years was the use of the forged Pelley letters, purporting to show a sympathetic understanding between William Dudley Pelley, well-known fascist leader of the Silver Shirts, and Congressman Martin Dies. On January 22, 1940, Congressman Frank E. Hook (Dem., Mich.) appeared before the House Rules Committee, which was then hearing testimony for and against the continuation of the Dies Committee, and revealed letters from Pelley to David D. Mayne, Pelley's Washington agent, alleging that Mr. Dies had agreed to "lay off" Pelley and other prominent fascist leaders and organizations. The letters also referred to a supposed intercession by Mr. Dies with the North Carolina courts for the continuation of Pelley's parole from a prison sentence for Blue Sky Law violations in that state.

Mr. Hook's charges touched off an immediate controversy in Congress and in the press. Mr. Dies' enemies quickly seized the apparent opportunity to attack him and his friends rushed stoutly to defend him. The controversy was allowed to continue for a week, with Mr. Hook asking for an investigation by the Attorney-General. Then the Dies Committee met and proved conclusively that the "letters" were forgeries. The matter ended with apologies from Mr. Hook, several statements by Mr. Dies and his associates rejoicing in their vindication, and much favorable publicity. Mr. Dies' opponents were badly hurt by the maneuver.

The facts in the case were that David Mayne,¹ Pelley's Washington representative, had sold the forged letters for \$105 to an associate of Gardner Jackson, then legislative representative of Labor's Non-Partisan League. Mr. Jackson passed them on to Congressman Hook, who made them public. On the witness stand,

¹ For an overall picture of the case, see *New York Times* of January 23, 24, 26, 31; February 1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 25; April 2; May 15, 1940; January 28 and February 12, 1941. See also *New York Herald Tribune* of January 28 and February 12, 1941.

however, Mayne freely admitted that the letters were forged. He claimed that he had intentionally misspelled Pelley's name as "Pelly"—although the spelling remains a matter of dispute; and testified that his real purpose in forging the letters was to put Jackson, Hook, and associates "out on a limb." Mr. Jackson later demanded the prosecution of Mayne for forgery and obtaining money under false pretenses. After numerous delays Mayne was convicted and on February 12, 1941, was given a suspended sentence of from one to three years.

As an example of propaganda of provocation the record in this case is made complete by Mayne's own confession of his purpose. As a supporter of the Dies Committee—in fact he had previously been employed by it—he wanted to discredit the opposition. The Committee profited greatly from the incident. In the course of the discussion of new appropriations, its methods and activities had been sharply criticized, but now, by pointing to this single highly-publicized case, Mr. Dies and his associates were able to transfer a certain degree of doubt to all criticisms. Thus the propaganda was highly effective.

Provocative Violence?

In the recent Ford strike at the River Rouge plant a conflict between Negro and white workers occurred which, if planned, was an example of provocative propaganda. The *New York Times* thus described the incident:²

Iron bars were used freely in the rioting between workers and CIO pickets at the plant today. . . . Scores were hurt as the heavy forged iron shafts were thrown at pickets by nearly 200 Negroes who made sorties from Gate No. 4 on Miller Road. Hand-to-hand encounters resulted in knifings and beatings to pickets and company supporters.

Since the Ford Company could not hope to break the picket line with this comparative handful of men, Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People indicated in a public statement³ that the company was attempting "to use Negroes as a club over the heads of those who wish to organize themselves in unions in the Ford plants." The attempt, he said, "is a dangerous move in times like these. It may make for increased racial tensions."

² April 3, 1941.

³ Issued April 9, 1941.

Persistently since the influx of refugees from the war areas began, a story has bobbed up in numerous American cities about the alleged heartless—and actually unreal—discharging of regular employes by stores to make places for “foreigners.” The story usually is anti-Semitic; the store with which it is connected has Jewish owners, and Jews are said to get the jobs.

One large store in New York City which has been a victim of the story has spent considerable sums trying to trace the source and find some way of stopping it. The efforts have been fruitless. The story keeps reappearing, and mimeographed leaflets have even been circulated picturing the Jewish manager welcoming a long line of Jewish refugees while turning away another line of fine Nordic types.

Whispering May Pay

Such whispering campaigns are typical of the propaganda of provocation. One was conducted not long ago against the makers of a popular brand of cigarettes. The false rumor then represented that the cigarette company was employing a leper in one of its plants. Whispering campaigns are of such recognized effectiveness that a New York City company supplied professional whisperers for a time. This was exposed a few years ago by the *World Telegram*.⁴ The company is believed now to be out of business.

The 1940 Presidential election campaign saw a clever example of provocative propaganda. Just before the election, thousands of voters in Bronx County, New York, received in the mail a pamphlet issued by the American Protestant Defense League of New York City entitled “Religious Intolerance Exposed.” The pamphlet alleged that Protestants, whom it estimated at one-third the total population of Bronx County, were consistently discriminated against in political appointments and nominations in favor of Catholics and Jews. In support of this contention the pamphlet listed the appointment or election to political offices of 139 Catholics and 32 Jews as against four Protestants. Under ordinary circumstances such a pamphlet would have lived and died in oblivion. But three facts brought it into the political lime-light: (1) its distribution in the heat of the

⁴ October 18, 1934.

election campaign; (2) the large numbers which were distributed; and (3) the insertion of a card reading “For President Vote Wendell L. Willkie.”

“Blunder” or Plot?

A considerable outcry arose. Democrats pointed the accusing finger of intolerance at the Republicans and Republicans protested a “Democratic plot.” In the heat of the national election, it was never definitely established just who *did* distribute the pamphlet. The Republicans? It is very doubtful. An experienced political party would hardly make the gross campaign blunder of insulting two very cohesive religious groups—composing the great majority of the population of Bronx County—to make a dubious appeal to a minority. One is forced to conclude that the Republicans were the victims of a clever piece of political provocation apparently appealing to Protestants, but actually designed to anger Catholic and Jewish voters.⁵

HOW TO DETECT IT

All propaganda is designed to influence our thinking. The propaganda of provocation is particularly effective because its unique form helps it to escape recognition and analysis when the usual rules of detection are applied. It obtains its effect in a backward, second-hand way. It seldom tries to tell us what to think; instead, it tries to create in us the belief that another person or group has certain beliefs or designs; and then relies on our own mental backgrounds to produce the desired reaction.

⁵ The numbering on the pages indicates that it originally had four pages and a single fold. An additional single sheet printed on both sides was inserted, using the same style type but in a slightly different way, and an almost, but not quite, identical paper. The original four page pamphlet contained nothing about the Presidential election, accusing “Boss Flynn” (National Democratic Chairman Edward J. Flynn of Bronx County) of responsibility for the alleged discrimination against Protestants. The inserted sheet, however, included the slogan “The Defeat of Roosevelt and Flynn will give the Protestants a Square Deal.” Moreover, while the original pamphlet refers to both Catholic and Jewish officeholders, the inserted sheet focuses attention on one side to “Catholics Appointed in All Key Positions” and on the other to “Gross Favoritism . . . in Appointments of Irish Catholics.” Thus, in the lack of any substantial evidence to the contrary, it would appear that the extra sheet was inserted to strengthen the provocation for Catholics in general and Irish Catholics in particular. Anti-Roosevelt sentiment seemed on the increase at that time among Bronx Catholics.

Since provocative propaganda is a highly refined and "advanced" type, the ordinary methods of detection and analysis cannot easily be applied. A new approach is necessary.

Action Speaks Louder . . .

One of the most fruitful means of dealing with ordinary propaganda is to concentrate on the fact that the propagandist is working "for pre-determined ends." The propagandist may not tell the truth about anything else, but about one thing he will not lie: what he wants people to do or to believe. Hence a piece of ordinary propaganda can often be analyzed by asking first what the propagandist wants you to do or believe. If his statements are read with that end in mind it becomes easier to judge their truth or falsity and thus detect the propaganda.

Not so with provocative propaganda. The master of this technique does not try to influence your thinking directly; he goes in roundabout fashion.

An illustration of this is found in Pierre Van Paassen's *Days of Our Years*. Van Paassen tells the story of a White Russian emigré in Paris, General Eugene De Miller, whose continual bragging about his alleged secret network of informers in Moscow had half the foreign correspondents in Paris believing him. The story continues:

That legend was finally disturbed, a little rudely, by *Pravda's* (the Moscow Communist daily's) correspondent in Paris. He caused a letter to be addressed to the General from Moscow, wherein such a harrowing picture was drawn of conditions in the Soviet capital that the latter published it forthwith under an eight-column heading in *Resurrection*, the paper of the Russian monarchists in Paris, as emanating from "the usual reliable source close to the bloody oppressor." I was in the plot because I wanted to test De Miller's reliability, and had given the key of that letter to several left-wing papers in Paris. They sprang the hoax one morning by publishing the first two words of its every paragraph, thus making the following sentence: "General, you are a damned liar, this letter was written to show that you have no reliable information on what is going on in the Worker's Fatherland."⁶

The Paris correspondent of *Pravda* in this case suspected correctly that the General's violently anti-Soviet feelings would make him swallow the forgery whole. Therefore instead of trying laboriously to prove that the General was wrong, he concentrated upon showing that the General had no real sources of information.

⁶ Page 107.

Result—the General was discredited and the foreign correspondents were made wary of future anti-Soviet "disclosures."

The Chicago Haymarket "Massacre," May 4, 1886, is a classic example of the "planting" of an impression regarding an opposition group. In this instance, tension had been developed in connection with the strikes and lockouts over the issue of the 8-hour day. Near the close of a meeting in Haymarket Square during this tense period, a bomb was thrown and the police fired at random into the crowd. Eight speakers of the meeting were arrested, tried, and convicted. Four were hanged, one committed suicide, and the other three spent seven years in Joliet prison. Then a retrial proved the convicted men innocent.

"Give a Dog a Bad Name"

The real bomb-thrower is still unknown. Radicals and workers charged that municipal police, private police, and Pinkerton spies were "responsible." The police, on the other hand, readily pinned the crime on the radicals. Governor Altgeld, in pardoning the accused, placed the chief blame on police provocation and brutality. Pointing out that police brutality against strikers and labor meetings had been prevalent for a number of years preceding the "massacre," Altgeld said:⁷

While some men may tamely submit to being clubbed, and seeing their brothers shot down, there are some who will resent it, and will nurture a spirit of hatred and seek revenge for themselves, and the occurrences that preceded the Haymarket tragedy, indicate that the bomb was thrown by someone who, instead of acting on the advice of anybody, was simply seeking personal revenge for having been clubbed, and that Captain Bonfield is the man who is really responsible for the death of the police officers.

Altgeld said that the Haymarket meeting had been peaceable until the police attacked to disperse it; then the bomb was thrown. He cited an interview with Chief of Police Ebersold in the *Chicago Daily News* of May 10, 1889, three years after the "massacre," as further evidence of the police responsibility. In this interview Ebersold was quoted as saying:⁸

It was my policy [as Chief of Police] to quiet matters down as soon as possible after the 4th of May. . . . On the other hand Capt. Schaack wanted to keep things

⁷ Harry Barnard, *Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld*. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. Copyright, 1938. p. 230.

⁸ Quoted in *Eagle Forgotten*, p. 189.

stirring. He wanted bombs to be found here, there, all around, everywhere. . . . Now here is something the public does not know. After we got the anarchist societies broken up, Schaack wanted to send out men to organize new societies right away. You see what this would do. He wanted to keep the thing boiling—keep himself before the public.

After I heard all that, I began to think there was, perhaps, not so much to this anarchist business as they claimed, and I believe I was right.

The importance of the case is that persons interested in profiting through the manipulation of stereotypes used the event to direct a campaign of “red baiting” against labor. “So expertly was this campaign waged that it molded the popular mind for years to come, and played its part in conditioning the mass response to the imaginary threat of ‘social revolution’ frequently dispersed in the United States since 1886.”⁹

Conditioning Sets the Stage

The clearest thing about a piece of provocative propaganda will be its alleged, but not its real, source. If the Reichstag building is burned immediately after a Nazi government is formed, isn't it natural to assume that opponents of the Nazis set the blaze? If a plant is bombed during a tense strike, isn't it natural to assume that embittered strikers did it? If thousands of pamphlets attacking the Democrats go out during a political campaign, isn't it natural to assume that the Republicans sent them out? These “na-

⁹ Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1936. p. 525.

tural assumptions” are the indispensable allies of the provocative propagandists.

Another characteristic of provocative propaganda is that the false or “planted” arguments will be set up with a certain crudity. The Pelley letters with the chief name open to the claim of having been misspelled is a good example. The supposed pamphlet of the Bronx County Protestants is another. No politician above the kindergarten age would be so foolish as to insult and attack two-thirds of the voters in order to appeal with slight chances of success to the remaining one-third. Why this crudity? Because in most instances they are designed as “straw men” to be knocked down with ease.

Who Profits?

To sum up, if you see a piece of propaganda that is more likely to anger a large section of the population than to appeal to or help a smaller section, consider carefully whether you are not dealing with an example of provocation. Give the propagandist credit for reasonable skill and competence at his job. Remember that the origin of propaganda which seems to be of the provocative type can often be guessed if one asks, “Who profits?” In a larger sense, the answer to that question will usually reveal the source and the purpose behind any propaganda, provocative or otherwise.¹⁰

¹⁰ For further discussions of propaganda through deeds see Leonard Doob's *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique* (Henry Holt, New York, 1935) and Harold D. Lasswell's and Dorothy Blumentstock's *World Revolutionary Propaganda*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1939.

Propaganda Analysis Guide

PROPAGANDA of provocation is a form of Card Stacking. You will find Card Stacking defined in Volume I, *Propaganda Analysis* (page 7) as “a device in which the propagandist employs all the arts of deception. . . . He resorts to lies, censorship, and distortion. He omits facts. He offers false testimony. He draws a red herring across the trail to confuse and divert those in quest of facts he does not want revealed. He makes the unreal appear real and the real appear unreal.”

Unlike the other common propaganda de-

vices—Name Calling, Glittering Generalities, Transfer, Testimonial, Plain Folks, and Band Wagon—Card Stacking can not be easily identified. Precisely because it does employ deception, it may be difficult or impossible to identify. Especially is this true in the field of governmental propaganda. Here secret treaties, understandings, maneuvers, and diplomatic conversations often are not available to the press nor to the general public until years after the events they have helped to shape have passed into history. Then, through confessions, memoirs,

treatises, and state papers we may see how propagandists of other days operated.

The Munich episode is worth studying in the light of the Hess flight. (See *Propaganda Analysis Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 2, "The Munich Plot.") At that time, while Chamberlain was agreeing to Hitler's seizure of the Sudetenland and the gateway to eastern Europe, an atmosphere of impending war was created. In London, bomb shelters were dug in Hyde Park, gas masks were issued to the people, the evacuation of the city was begun. The army was mobilized and the fleet was massed in the North Sea. Was the threat of war real or was it propaganda to inspire fear of a German attack and thus to make appeasement palatable? Professor Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College has declared that "a gigantic hoax was perpetrated by Neville Chamberlain and Adolf Hitler, in tacit if not in express agreement. . . . The Prime Minister supplied the gesture, Der Fuehrer supplied the threats and thunder."

Mark Anthony's speech over Ceasar's body is an example of the propaganda of provocation. Read it; also other examples set forth in literature and history.

Note how propaganda of provocation appeals to people's previous conditioning. Observe how it comes suddenly and spectacularly. Observe that it is found in acts or events or radio speeches which suggest to people that they must make quick decisions.

CURRENT EXAMPLES

List some recent examples of propaganda of provocation in connection with the effort to have America participate or not participate in the war; or in connection with attempts to discredit employers or workers in strike situations; or in connection with attempts to discredit authors of school text books or critics of school text books.¹

In analyzing these samples:

1. *Look for the basic conflict of interests.*
Ask who wants what and for what end?
Who opposes or is likely to oppose his getting it? All propaganda involves conflict—as a cause of conflict or as a result of it

¹ See *Propaganda Analysis* bulletins "Propaganda Over the Schools," February, 1941; "War Aims in War Propaganda," March, 1941; and "Strike, Profits, and Defense," April, 1941.

—or as both cause and result; so, what is the basic conflict?

2. *Put down in writing your own stand with reference to the conflict.* Make a list of persons you know or know about and write down how they stand. Thus, you may be in favor of convoys to Britain. Among others in favor you would list Secretary Stimson, Secretary Knox, Wendell Willkie, Senator Pepper, Dr. Conant of Harvard, and other persons, such as, perhaps, the minister of your church. Or you may be against convoys, and you would list with yourself Senators Wheeler, Nye, and Tobey, President Hutchins of the University of Chicago, and others.
3. *Why do you take the stand you do take with reference to any particular conflict?* Is it because you are of English or Irish or German or Italian descent, black or white, Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic, rich or poor? Is it because you live in the South or the Far West or the Middle West or the East? Is it because your father was a union mechanic or the local bank president? Why do you like or dislike persons and groups different from yourself? Why do such persons or groups like or dislike you and your group? Write down your answers. Apply the same tests to other people, asking yourself whether they would be predisposed in some way to take a certain view.
4. *What would make you "boiling mad?"* List acts or events which have made you "mad," the minute you saw them or read about them or heard them described over the radio. Astute propagandists know what provokes most persons to anger. They seek to discredit one group or individual and place another group or individual in a favorable light. To do this they must appeal to our quick rise of "righteous indignation," or to our quick disgust or fear. What acts or events do you instantly approve or disapprove?

Clip news stories and pictures of violence; editorials and cartoons about these events. With propagandists who know what they're about, "things don't just happen." Are the news stories or picture cap-

tions so written as to bring your instant approval or disapproval of some individual or group?

5. *Remember that "your judgment is no better than your information."* Before you act as a result of events or of opinions and statements of fact which you cannot yourself verify, but which move you to strong approval or disapproval, ask yourself these questions:
 - a. Why does this opinion or statement of fact, or event, make me "mad" or "glad?" Is it because of my religious or economic or social background, or because my ancestors came from Scotland, Germany, or Italy, etc.?
 - b. Who is the person, the propagandist, who is telling me to do or not to do something? What are his interests? Why does he want me to fear and hate some nations, some groups, and some individuals?—to approve or support others?
 - c. If I did what he wished, would I be serving my interests and the interests of most of my fellow citizens?
6. *Act on the basis of your analysis.* Take time to analyze, then act in time. There are occasions when an act, like "a stitch in time, saves nine."

Talk over with your friends recent examples of censorship, inflammatory statements, provo-

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cative acts. Check to see how they acted, how you acted. Can you identify the factors which caused you and your friends to act as you did? What things especially "provoked" you to action?

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INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, Inc.
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JUL 8 1941

Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

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Volume IV

Number 8

American Common Sense

ON ALL SIDES hot national issues press for decisions. The question of intervening in the European war is insistent. Along with it has come the issue of strikes in defense industries: should or should not the Government step in? And taxes: how should the burden of defense costs be apportioned?

Great propaganda struggles are being waged, and as usual on such issues the propagandas of both sides make strong appeals. On such questions it is always possible to build persuasive cases to support either of the opposing views. Moreover, on these questions, as on most national issues, almost none of us can conduct our own personal investigations; we are almost all dependent on the reports of others.

Yet on such large issues people have to know where they stand. So it is not enough merely to recognize propaganda. It comes at us from all sides; to dismiss all of it would result in futile cynicism. For propaganda analysis to become a useful, creative instrument, it must help its users make decisions.

There is a tendency to regard propaganda as something mysterious, and this tendency is furthered by the recognition of the subtle and sometimes devious ways in which some propagandists work. The mystery vanishes, however, if propaganda is seen in its true perspective. The Institute's *Bulletin* has tried to provide this perspective in various statements, but it has not yet summed these up in a few general principles. It is taking time out from its regular reports on current propagandas to do so in this issue. If these general principles are kept in mind in considering a piece of propaganda, we believe they will provide a good "rule of

thumb" with which the reader can decide his own attitude and what action he wishes to take.

These are the principles:

1. *Propaganda of some kind is a necessity in large populous countries.*
2. *The propagandist has to take into account the dual nature of our world—a world ruled largely by traditional ideas and practices but filled with new things and new needs.*
3. *Propaganda is a method of rationalizing the facts so as to make the propagandist's cause seem well-sanctioned, customary, or in accord with prevailing moral views—or so as to make a rival cause seem the opposite, if the propagandist's aim is to kill it.*
4. *Propaganda is part of an individual's or group's drive to advance its own interests, and the common-sense attitude is to judge the drive by how it affects our interests.*

Most of us are like the lady who said that as soon as she discovered something was propaganda, she dropped it right in the waste basket. She thought of propaganda as a kind of mental germ. And, as with most of us, she proceeded to express opinions on current issues in almost the identical terms of the leading propagandists. The fact is that propaganda—which the Institute has called "the expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends"¹—begins for most of us the first time our mother tells us what "nice" boys do. "Nice" is one of the most completely propagandistic words in the vocabulary. It rolls

¹ *Propaganda Analysis*, Volume 1, Number 1, October, 1937.

five of the seven common propaganda devices² into one. The big-time propagandist only employs on a large scale the same devices used by all of us when we telescope our thoughts into a single phrase or symbol to persuade someone to do what we want. And this brings us to the discussion of the first principle:

1. *Propaganda of some kind is a necessity in large, populous countries.*

"Enormous populations attempting to carry on democratic government are a relatively new phenomenon in the world's history,"³ it has been pointed out. The attempt could not succeed if there were not ways for elected representatives to mobilize support for their programs; and for people with new ideas to persuade others and possibly win a following that will ultimately enable them to put their ideas into effect. Moreover, it has to be possible for our elected leaders or aspiring leaders to communicate their ideas quickly to the rest of us. We make things difficult for them by being much absorbed in our own affairs and unwilling or unable to spend the time really to weigh thoughtfully the various governmental matters. Our elected leader might attempt to obtain our views by publishing a long, detailed analysis of any problem, outlining the various alternatives open to us and sending it to each of us for our opinion. In such a case most of us would probably be so impressed by his meticulous concern for our views that we would know we didn't have to bother reading the document. We would leave the whole matter to his considered judgment.

It Starts With a Plan

But there are conflicting interests in the country; almost every large issue means a fight; so our leaders, whether in government or in some organization to which we belong, usually plan their program and then "sell" it to us. This is where propaganda comes in. If they are effective leaders, they will dress up the program, possibly, in appealing phrases and symbols. The more drastic the program, the harder they

² These devices are: Name Calling, Glittering Generalities, Transfer (linking the cause with some person or thing of great prestige), Testimonial, Plain Folks (the favorite device of politicians), Card Stacking, and Band Wagon. They were discussed in *Propaganda Analysis* Volume I, Number 2, November, 1937.

³ William W. Biddle, *Propaganda and Education* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1936), p. 6.

will try to present it in terms that will appeal not only to our minds but to our emotions.

If it is something we approve we will not object to the propaganda. We will not even call it such. In any event, we will become interested and informed about the issue; we will be prepared to vote on it or (unless it does some direct injury to our interests) we will be prepared to accept it when it becomes law.

How important this understanding and acceptance is in democratic countries becomes all the more apparent when we recall that even in Germany, where Hitler does not have to bother with votes on his actions, the people are subjected to a constant barrage of propaganda. Even there it is necessary for the government to make some concessions to public opinion.

It Has to Be Realistic

Thus, propaganda of some kind is a necessity. But why does propaganda so often become an involved, subtle device? That brings us to the next principle:

2. *The propagandist has to take into account the dual nature of our world—a world ruled*

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largely by traditional ideas and practices but filled with new things and new needs.

This duality is a skeleton in the human closet. Most of us like to conceal it; some of us won't even admit its existence; but the "practical" men, among whom are the successful propagandists, recognize it openly. They recognize that, in attempting to influence large numbers of people, they have to use what an advertising man has referred to as "illusion."

You cannot eliminate illusion from advertising because you cannot eliminate it from life. [said John Benson, President of the American Association of Advertising Agencies.] Without it, advertising would be dead. Religion is a compact of illusion; so are marriage, mother love and all idealism. No statesman, preacher, teacher or politician, no novelist, poet or painter can influence the masses without illusion.⁴

"Things Aren't What They Seem"

The double visage of which most people are probably aware today is that in politics. In the simple school books of not so long ago the illusion was maintained intact. Some people still think of political conventions and legislatures as bodies of men who go off by themselves and out of the depths of their wisdom think up the names of their candidates for office or devise new laws to make things run better. Lincoln Steffens, one of the great "muckrakers," describes in his *Autobiography* his surprise as a boy at learning how the legislature in his native state, California, actually operated. It was in sharp contrast with the descriptions he had received from his schoolbooks and his father. From a young friend who was to be a page he learned of the organization of the House several days in advance of the first public meeting; then on the opening day he saw the speaker elected "just as if it had not been 'fixed'" and the whole organization read off "just as if it had not been 'settled' days and nights before." "There was some mystery about it," he commented. "Nothing was what it was supposed to be."⁵

But Steffens' own exposures of political corruption in his articles, "The Shame of the Cities," for which he became famous, made many people familiar with the fact that there were two governments in cities, the nominal government, dominated by the political boss, and

the invisible government of business, which was dominated by a boss with whom the political boss worked. Harding's nomination for the Presidency in 1920 further punctured the veil of mystery over political affairs when it produced the famous phrase, "a smoke-filled room," which described the hotel room where the Republican Party bosses picked him as the man whom the convention would solemnly go through the motion of nominating next day. Reporters now look for the "smoke-filled room" at every political gathering, and the phrase has become part of American literature. Such books as *The Great Game of Politics* by Frank R. Kent of the *Baltimore Sun*, and more recently, *The Pressure Boys*, by Kenneth G. Crawford of the New York newspaper, *PM*—the latter a description of the lobbyists who seek to, and to a considerable extent do, influence the course of government at Washington—have continued the story. But there is a long way to go before current practices will square with prevailing beliefs. This was shown in a new study of the national antitrust policy, written by Professor Walton Hamilton of the Yale University Law School and an associate, and published by the Temporary National Economic Committee, which points out that although "the popular will as expressed by Congress is clear enough . . . somehow public policy and current reality are at serious odds."⁶

Our "Homely" Untruths

It is not only in political and governmental affairs that policy and reality are at such odds. The duality, which a propagandist must take into account, runs through much of current life. This is noticeable in the common sayings by which we supposedly guide our lives. Professor Robert S. Lynd of Columbia University has shown that commonly held beliefs about life are often quite contradictory. He has shown this by bringing a large number of contradictory ones together. Here are some:

Individualism, "the survival of the fittest," is the law of nature and the secret of America's greatness; and restrictions on individual freedom are un-American and kill initiative. *But:* No man should live for himself alone; for people ought to be loyal and stand together and work for common purposes.

⁴ *Editor & Publisher*, November 2, 1935.

⁵ *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1931), pp. 46-7.

⁶ Walton Hamilton and Irene Till, *Antitrust in Action*, Temporary National Economic Committee Monograph No. 16 (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1941), p. 3.

The thing that distinguishes man from the beasts is the fact that he is rational; and therefore man can be trusted, if let alone, to guide his conduct wisely. *But*: Some people are brighter than others; and as every practical politician and businessman knows, you can't afford simply to sit back and wait for people to make up their minds.

Everyone should try to be successful. *But*: The kind of person you are is more important than how successful you are.

Religion and "the finer things of life" are our ultimate values and the things all of us are really working for. *But*: A man owes it to himself and his family to make as much money as he can.

Education is a fine thing. *But*: It is the practical men who get things done.⁷

Yesterday Stays With Us

In other words, there are common beliefs to fit a person's varying moods. The reason, as Dr. Lynd explains, is that "these overlapping assumptions have developed in different eras and . . . they tend to be carried over uncritically into new situations or to be allowed to persist in long diminuendos into the changing future."⁸ And that is the crux of the situation which confronts anyone concerned with influencing masses of people. The customs and usages—what Professor William Graham Sumner called the "mores"—which have been developed by people to fit one set of conditions continue to linger on as a code of behavior long after the conditions that generated them have changed. The mores, Sumner said,

develop their own philosophical and ethical generalizations, which are elevated into "principles" of truth and right. They coerce and restrict the newborn generation. They do not stimulate thought, but the contrary. The thinking is already done and is embodied in the mores. . . . They present themselves as final and unchangeable, because they present answers which are offered as the truth.⁹

Our customs and ideas change so slowly, apparently, because people are more creatures of habit than most of us like to believe. Professor James Harvey Robinson, who wrote *Mind in the Making* to create "an unprecedented attitude of mind to cope with unprecedented conditions and to utilize unprecedented knowledge," summed man up this way:

Like plants and animals in general [he] tends to go on from generation to generation, living as nearly as may

be the life of his forebears. Changes have to be forced on him by hard experience, and he is forever prone to find excuses for slipping back into older habits, for these are likely to be simpler, less critical, more spontaneous—more closely akin, in short, to his animal and primitive promptings.¹⁰

The ideas about man given us by philosophers in the past, Professor Robinson said, have revealed a "grotesque" ignorance of life:

Philosophers . . . have almost consistently neglected the actual processes of thought and have set the mind off as something apart to be studied by itself. But no such mind, exempt from bodily processes, animal impulses, savage traditions, infantile impressions, conventional reactions, and traditional knowledge, ever existed.¹¹

Most of our "so-called reasoning," he said, "consists in finding arguments for going on believing as we already do."¹²

Philosophers have ignored this realistic picture of the human mind, but "practical men" have not. The "practical men" as a matter of course deal with people on two levels. They appeal to self-seeking instincts, vanity, prejudices, and conventional reactions, and talk as though they are upholding the highest moral standards of the nation. This is the situation in which the effective propagandist operates.

Hence the next principle:

3. *Propaganda is a means of rationalizing the facts so as to make the propagandist's cause seem desirable and well-sanctioned, customary, or in accord with prevailing moral views, or so as to make a rival cause seem the opposite if the propagandist's aim is to kill it.*

Introducing Defense

Needless to say, the more appealing the cause, the less rationalizing is needed. Today we are in the midst of a nation-wide campaign for national defense. It is so generally accepted that few think of it as a propaganda campaign. This is partly because the patriotic fervor has spread far beyond the initiators of the campaign and many citizens are indulging in demonstrations on their own. The increased display of the flag and singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" surround the defense drive with the sanction of patriotism; so do such events as "I Am an American" Day. This is a time of anxiety, caused by the war and increased by the solemn warnings of the President, his Cabinet members, and

⁷ Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?: The Place of Social Science in American Culture* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1939), pp. 58-9.

⁸ Ibid, p. 59.

⁹ William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Ginn, New York, 1906), p. 79.

¹⁰ James Harvey Robinson, *Mind in the Making* (Harper, New York, 1921), p. 93.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 33.

¹² Ibid, p. 41.

other prominent speakers. Anxiety makes people look for security; it brings up memories of their childhood days when everything did seem secure (a psychological process described in the February, 1941, *Bulletin*, "Propaganda Over the Schools"). The display of flags and singing of the national songs, to which they thrilled then, stir them again today, and they throw off the differences of mature years and join in national unity with their neighbors.

Events Talk

To stress the propaganda value of flag displays is not to underestimate the weight that events have in carrying conviction. The Gallup polls have shown that events change more minds than almost any amount of talk. But stirring symbols, music, and celebrations reinforce other appeals, and Transfer the prestige of the Government to acts done in the name of patriotism.

This is an acceptable type of propaganda and is in sharp contrast to the hate-building and other types used by the Germans. Hitler manipulates the masses of his people through astute use of the fundamental psychological processes. These were described by the Institute in its *Bulletin* of August 1, 1940, which showed the psychological processes on which propagandists rely. The German Army counts propaganda as an arm of its campaign, a means of building prestige in neutral countries. Its official *Manual of Modern Military Sciences* explains:

Intellectual war is the campaign which the state conducts with intellectual weapons, such as propaganda and similar media, to strengthen its own and weaken the enemy's prestige in the eyes of neutrals, to preserve and strengthen its own fighting power while breaking down and disintegrating the fighting power, will to resistance, and morale of the enemy.¹³

To the German Government propaganda work is important enough to receive appropriations of \$234,000,000 a year, it is estimated by Edmond Taylor,¹⁴ author of *The Strategy of Terror*.

The British have laid great stress on propaganda to build up support abroad. In the opinion of Alfred Duff Cooper, British Minister of Information, Britain's general propaganda

¹³ Quoted by Edmond Taylor, *New York Times Magazine*, June 1, 1941.

¹⁴ Ibid.

work is now surpassing the Germans' in effectiveness.¹⁵

The rationalizing or presentation of the facts can be done in many ways, as the Institute has pointed out in describing the seven common propaganda devices (referred to earlier in this *Bulletin*). The appeal to prevailing moral ideas is one of the most effective. Usually, the propagandist prefers to show himself as a particularly staunch upholder of traditional views, but not always, as John S. Sumner, secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, has discovered.

There are many secret sympathizers with his work [wrote Alva Johnson in the *New Yorker*]; there are many fair-weather friends of decency; but when dead cats like "Sir Galahad," "Mrs. Grundy," "Holy Joe" are flying around, the faint-hearted scurry out of danger. Few can stand being publicly accused of good morals, and most leave Sumner to fight alone.¹⁶

American business is highly aware of the power of suggestion. Its public relations representatives pay attention even to minute details. Not long ago the Bourbon whisky distillers awoke to the fact that nearly every time a drink was ordered in a movie it was a Scotch-and-soda. That gave Scotch-and-soda the stamp of fashion since the movies show so many well-to-do homes and clubs. The Bourbon people went to work, with the result that Mint Julep or some other Bourbon drink now gets its turn.

A \$1,000,000 Rationalization

In the famous campaign against the chain store tax in California in 1936 the stores were able to convert the public opinion from suspicion and hostility toward the chain idea into a feeling of friendliness and acceptance of it as a potential boon. The rationalizing campaign cost \$1,050,000, according to the final report; it was rumored that \$2,500,000 had been raised as a war chest. It was an important fight to the chains because the proposed tax was being put to a popular vote for the first time; the state legislature had submitted a referendum on it.¹⁷

The chains engaged Don Francisco, then a vice president of Lord & Thomas, a national advertising agency, and now Director of the Com-

¹⁵ *New York Times*, February 7, 1941.

¹⁶ Quoted by Edward Jones Kilduff, *Words and Human Nature* (Harper, New York, 1941), p. 20.

¹⁷ The campaign is described in detail in S. H. Walker and Paul Sklar's *Business Finds Its Voice* (Harper, New York, 1938), pp. 83-8.

munications Division of the Council for National Defense, Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics, to undertake the task of turning the public against the bill. He made a survey of public opinion as his first step. It showed that 60 per cent favored the tax. Of newspaper stories, only 15 per cent supported the chains; the rest were neutral or opposed.

Some Events That "Happened"

The campaigners had a year to work. Mr. Francisco began with a careful study of public attitudes. He had his staff interview "the various publics," the chain store employees themselves, the publishers of every daily and weekly paper in the state; farmers and fruit growers and their cooperatives.

A great opportunity came in the middle of the year. The California peach growers produced an unmanageable surplus, which threatened to depress prices, hurt the canneries, and reduce employment.

The growers [said Messrs. Walker and Sklar] formed the California Canned Peach Stabilization Committee—a move said to have been inspired by Mr. Francisco. Then the committee appealed to the chain stores for help, still, the public assumed, completely on its own initiative.

Hearing the plea, the chain owners agreed to cooperate. Together they controlled 37,500 stores in the nation; they took the peaches, put on weekly canned-peach drives everywhere, and wiped out the surplus with profit to all.¹⁸

The stores did the same thing later with surpluses of dried fruits and avocados.

Before the year was out 79 per cent of the news stories and newspaper editorials on chain stores were favorable, Mr. Francisco reported. Seventy per cent of the state's business, labor, and consumer organizations had gone on record against the tax. Then in the final two months before the vote, Mr. Francisco put on a whirlwind finish, with newspaper and billboard advertising, pamphlets and car stickers, with high school essays and talks on radio "amateur hours." The tax was defeated in 57 out of the 58 counties in the state.

As these illustrations indicate, the methods open to the propagandist are as various as all human affairs, but they all represent the same attempt to make the propagandist's cause seem natural and logical.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 86.

This leads to the last of the series of principles:

4. *Propaganda is part of an individual's or group's drive to advance its own interests, and the common-sense attitude is to judge the drive by how it affects our interests.*

The principle could be stated less elegantly, "everyone is grinding his own axe and we have to decide whom to help."

It will be tempered, naturally, by a broad view of what is "our" interest. The main fact about propaganda, however, is that it is only one arm of the effort being put forth by the person or group that inspires it. We have shown that propaganda of *some* kind is necessary and that it takes varied forms because of the human conditions it has to meet. These points clear the mystery away. The third point, that, whatever the form, the propaganda is essentially an effort to make us do or think something, combines with the fourth and helps us to see the larger goal at which the propagandist is aiming. Then it is time to ask our question, how will that goal affect our own interest?

It is amazing to what elaborate lengths the world goes to make people decide without asking that simple question. As Mark Twain loved to show, we are put in the wrong as youngsters by having thrust on us a civilization that has an inverted scale of values—when judged by what we really prefer to do. Tom Sawyer manfully kept up the struggle against civilization, as personified by his aunt, but always knew that the trouble lay with him.

Back to the Cracker-Barrel

Mark Twain was the spirit of American common sense. He and the school of humorists who flourished during the last quarter of last century loved to shoot holes through the then rising stuffed shirts. He often paid his respects to them, but chiefly in *The Gilded Age*, which he wrote with Charles Dudley Warner. Senator Dilworthy, the hero, had a great project to benefit the Negro. It was to have the Government buy 65,000 acres of Tennessee land to build an industrial school. The land was then taxed \$140 a year and the Senator's price to the Government was tentatively \$3,000,000.

The Senator was a great speechmaker. When he learned that one of the state legislators was opposing his re-election, Mark Twain had him

burst into oratory to a group of friends:

If this person Noble merely desired to sacrifice *me*, I would willingly offer up my life on the altar of my dear State's weal, I would be glad and grateful to do it: but when he makes of me but a cloak to hide his deeper designs, when he proposes to strike *through* me at the heart of my beloved State, all the lion in me is aroused—and I say, Here I stand, solitary and alone, but unflinching, unquailing, thrice armed with my sacred trust; and whoso passes to do evil to this fair domain that looks to me for protection, must do so over my dead body.¹⁹

Somehow the era that saw this sharp treatment of the false fronts has disappeared. And the false propagandist has come to flourish where the false fronts flourished in Twain's day. Now, moreover, democracy is encountering its severest challenge, both within and without. And false propaganda is one of its leading enemies.

The Institute believes that the times call for the application of salty, common sense. They call for what has been sectionally labeled "Yankee common sense," the "I'm from Missouri" spirit, the "cracker-barrel philosophy," etc. And they call for merging these into a philosophy of American Common Sense which will be so simple and sensible that it will stabilize our course.

To turn against all propaganda is futile; to be easily led is disastrous. If America will look

¹⁹ Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens) and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age*, Authorized Uniform Edition (Harper, New York, 1904), vol. ii, p. 233.

at all people for what they are, and trust her deepest judgment of them, she will ride out the storm.

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Propaganda Analysis Guide

BEFORE we are able to make up our minds about any given question—whether on the war or on something as unimportant as a game of tennis—it is, frequently, desirable to re-examine our basic assumptions. We may assume that *all* war is "bad," or that *some* wars are "just," or that wars are "inevitable." We may assume that tennis is "good" because it is good exercise, or that it is "bad" because it is unladylike.

Similarly, it is necessary to have basic assumptions about propaganda before we can attempt propaganda analysis. In this *Bulletin*, the Institute re-examines its own attitudes toward propaganda and states four of its basic principles (or assumptions). Using these as starting points,

re-examine your own attitudes toward propaganda. Do you accept these basic starting points of the Institute? Do you think of others that should be added to the list?

Divide your group into committees. Assign to each committee some leading national issue—such as the war, labor, civil liberties. Ask each committee to prepare a brief analysis of the issue to which it has been assigned. Have the committee report orally to the group.

After each committee's report has been given, discuss the issue in the light of the Institute's assumptions. Are the Institute's assumptions applicable in each case? How? Are other assumptions, which you think should be added to the Institute's list, applicable? How?

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Propaganda Analysis

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Volume IV

Number 9

Axis Voices Among the Foreign-Born

SHORTLY after the last war an American writer pointed to the great potential power of propaganda in foreign-born communities. The writer, Professor Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago, was discussing the immigrant press in the United States. Owing to the increase in communication and "interpenetration of peoples," he said, foreign governments had greatly enlarged opportunities for "an insidious exploitation of the sources of dissension and unrest." The use of propaganda in this way, he predicted, "may as completely change the character of wars as they were once changed by the invention of gunpowder."¹

The interpenetration of peoples in the United States was reduced notably on July 15, 1941, when President Roosevelt sent back to Europe on a navy transport 450 Italian and German consular and associated officials and their families. These officials were a major part of the propaganda apparatus of their two countries; they were leaders in the task of organizing the German and Italian American communities so that Nazi and Fascist propaganda would have the right of way at meetings and festivities, over foreign-language radio stations and in the German and Italian American press.

Captain Fritz Wiedemann, adjutant to Hitler and the captain of Hitler's company in the last war, who was said to have been chosen by Hitler himself to be consul general for San Francisco and the West Coast, was in the home-bound shipload; and Dr. Manfred Zapp and Guenther Tonn, members of the German Transocean News Agency, both indicted for failing to register as foreign agents. Also

aboard was Gaetano Vechiotti, for several years an ardent worker for Fascism as Italian Consul General in New York.

Dramatic enough as another sign of Mr. Roosevelt's leadership of anti-Axis sentiment in America, the event brought into sharp focus the pro-Axis propaganda which has been deluging German and Italian Americans and some of their satellite foreign-language groups in this country increasingly during recent years. It reflected the growing concern which Congress and the Administration are showing for propaganda coming into this country from abroad, particularly Communist and Nazi and Fascist. This concern has been shown in such measures as the Alien Registration Act, which required the fingerprinting of the nearly 5,000,000 still unnaturalized foreign-born residents of the country, and the Voorhis Act requiring the registration of all organizations under foreign control or engaging in both military and political activity. The Department of Justice has set up a special unit to study the organizations of the foreign-born, and see whether their efforts are consistent with American laws.

Coincidentally the foreign-born themselves are forming pro-democratic organizations to compete for the leadership of their nationality groups. Among the Italian Americans the Mazzini Society has been formed, named after one of the great figures in Italian liberalism of the last century. It is headed by Professor Max Ascoli, Dean of the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York, and associated with it are such men as Count Carlo Sforza, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs before Fascism's seizure of power, and Professor Gaetano Salvemini of Harvard.

¹ Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (Harper, New York, 1922), p. 212.

And German Americans, headed by Dr. Frank Bohn, who was secretary of the Friends of German Democracy in the last war and an aide of the Creel Committee in its work in Europe, have formed the German-American Congress for Democracy. Associated with Dr. Bohn is Gerhart Seger, a former member of the German Reichstag who left when Hitler took power and who has been appointed supervisor of short-wave broadcasting to Germany by the Department of Justice.

The stake of the struggle between these and the pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist organizations is the leadership of German and Italian segments of the American population during the war months—and possibly years—immediately ahead. The Germans and Italians represent the largest foreign-language stocks in the country's population—there are 7,000,000 persons of German birth or parentage, 4,500,000 of Italian.²

Fewer Immigrants, More Consuls

The departure of the consuls, the officials of libraries of information, the cultural secretaries and the rest of the flock will leave considerable voids in the many German and Italian communities in the United States. With the prestige of their official positions, with the power of dispensing decorations and other coveted honors and favors from the home governments, and—since the coming of Fascism and Nazism—with the possibilities of pressure on business interests or families in the old countries, the consular officials have been men of considerable weight in their communities. Their work has apparently been highly esteemed at home. Although the number of unnaturalized Germans and Italians has declined since the restriction of immigration under the quota law, the number of consular representatives of both countries has risen with the rise of Fascism's and Nazism's world interests. In 1933, when Adolf Hitler came to power, the German consulate-general had 33 members on diplomatic passport, in 1940 it had 100.³

How closely they kept their hands on German American affairs has been revealed in numerous instances. The German consul in Los Angeles made up financial deficits of the Ger-

²From the 1940 brochure of the Common Council for American Unity.

³George Britt, *The Fifth Column Is Here* (Funk, New York, 1940), p. 31.

man American Bund headquarters there, a Dies Committee witness, Neil Howard Ness, testified. When an active Fascist in New York decided that things had gone too far and sent the publisher of the two Italian daily papers in the city a telegram of protest over the front-page headlines he received a telephone call from the Italian consulate within half an hour. The ex-Fascist, Major Goffredo Pantaleoni, revealed this incident in the April 1941 *Il Mondo*.

Italian consuls frequently were featured speakers at political rallies in Italian American districts.

More and More Culture

"Cultural" work has increased by leaps and bounds in both German and Italian consulates. "Cultural work" means organization of local activities around Nazi and Fascist themes. For the German and Italian Americans, like other national groups, have formed literally thousands of local and national organizations throughout the country. There are about 2,000 German societies in the New York area alone. They fairly closely parallel the usual American

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civic and social organizations, ranging from business groups, such as the Deutscher Konsumverein, various mutual aid and benefit societies, and unions to the historic Steuben Society, the Kyffhauser Bund, a nationwide war veterans organization; and innumerable church, choral, cultural and athletic societies. The German American Bund, of course, is still flourishing.

It Takes Sounding Boards

The Italian organizational picture is much the same. The organizations represent attempts by the groups to ease the strain, hardships and insecurity of the adjustment to American life. And the Nazis and Fascists, under the leadership and with the help of the consuls, have made it their business in recent years, with the help of local persons whom they could influence, to capture control of as many of these organizations as possible. It often took fist fights and riotous meetings to discourage the opposition. Also, new organizations were built, like the German American National Alliance, with the aid of not-too-subtle appeals. One of its speakers, Dr. Walter H. Silge, broadcasting over station WHIP in Chicago, urged

every citizen of German descent to join the Einheitsfront (united front), thus furthering cooperation among America's Germandom. . . . Those who join in good time may discard all fear. *Apprehension of the future impends only for those who stubbornly remain on the sides line.* Nothing can stop this great movement of our any longer.⁴

So the vereins and bunds, the cercolos and federazioni came to be dominated by Nazis and Fascists. Practically all—99½ per cent—of the Italian societies, says *Il Mondo*, the Italian anti-Fascist monthly, undertake to do as the code of the Order of the Sons of Italy prescribes, “to instill a double patriotic love for both their adopted country and their country of origin.”

Most of these organizations [says *Il Mondo*] have two official flags, the Italian and the American. They display on their premises the pictures of the Italian King and the Duce. They open and close their festivals with the Italian national anthem and conduct themselves as if they have never uttered even the faintest oath of loyalty to countries other than Italy.⁵

Two other important channels of Italian American information are also predominantly

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55. Italics ours.

⁵ *Il Mondo*, September, 1940.

under Fascist control or influence, the press and the radio.

Eighty per cent of the 120 Italian-language publications in the United States are Fascist, the Mazzini Society estimates; 10 per cent are anti-Fascist and the rest neutral.⁶

Here again there seems to be some well-organized force at work. Professor Gaetano Salvemini of Harvard believes that most of the Italian American daily papers—of which there are nine—“could not survive without permanent subsidy somewhere.”⁷ Radio programs, even in their advertising of Italian goods, Professor Salvemini points out, continually glorify the Rome of Fascism, and here there is evidence of pressure. Liberal-minded Italians who have bought time for democratic interpretations have found themselves banned after a few broadcasts, Professor Salvemini says.⁸ Since businesses in Italy are under the control of the Fascist state, it is easy to see how the advertising placed in foreign-language papers by their branches in this country can be made to serve the ends of Fascist propaganda. Even Italian-speaking priests, Professor Salvemini says, are, with rare exceptions, carriers of Fascist propaganda.⁹

Love Italy, Love the Duce

With the Italian love of oratory, whoever controls the speaker's platform at meetings has a potential propaganda medium. The pro-Fascist speakers play strongly on the Italians' natural attitude of love and devotion to the motherland. Then the propaganda connects this love to the Fascist regime by constantly speaking in loving terms of the two together. This is a typical use of the Transfer device. And once this central attitude has been built up, it is relatively easy to make the Italian American hate Fascist Italy's enemies and oppose any steps in this country that would check Fascism's expansion.

The system was seen at work in a drive conducted in Italian American communities in the spring of 1941 ostensibly to raise funds for wel-

⁶ Press Release of the Italian News Service (Mazzini Society) August 29, 1940.

⁷ Gaetano Salvemini, *Italian Fascist Activities in the U. S.* (American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D. C., 1940), p. 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

fare work in Italy. The Mazzini Society, which is fighting such propaganda by exposing the methods used to spread it, scored its first victory when it succeeded recently in stopping this drive. It was being conducted by the Federation of Italian War Veterans in the United States, and the funds, it was stated, would go to the Opere Assistenziale in Italy, a welfare agency.

The drive was the occasion for a great surge of oratory. Banquets, parties, festivals were arranged in many cities; local political bigwigs attended. But the speeches covered more than mere love of the homeland. In Boston, at a festival attended by the Mayor, a speaker is said to have moved the audience to "delirious applause" by praising forcefully the "Italo-German" victories in Yugoslavia, Greece and North Africa.

Not Propaganda, Just Oratory

When the State Department licensed the campaign it had misgivings about the propaganda possibilities, and stipulated that the collection activities should be held strictly to their stated charitable and humanitarian purpose. Its request became material for rich poetical allusions. One speaker at a meeting in New York City recalled the days of the Roman catacombs. "Here," he said, "we Italian-Americans are gathered to celebrate our highest love, with music and songs, as the first Christians did to worship God. This hour," he continued, "is grey, but I see a bright beam, the beam of victory." And the chairman, glorifying "the immortal and just Rome," added: "whose sons must suffocate in their hearts a spontaneous cry."

The State Department revoked the license for the drive on the demand of California units of the Mazzini Society, which protested that the whole drive was Fascist. The "Opere Assistenziale" itself, the agency that was to spend the money in Italy, was an arm of the Fascist Party, the society pointed out; moreover, the main effect of the campaign, the Society said, would be to place at the Fascist Government's disposal American currency for badly needed war purchases in foreign countries.¹⁰

The Mazzini Society is now gunning for the

top personality among Italian Americans, Generoso Pope, publisher of two daily Italian papers which the Society calls "the main channels through which Fascist propaganda is spread in the United States."¹¹ The two papers, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* and *Il Corriere d'America*, are printed in New York. Following the halting of the Italian War Veterans' campaign, the Mazzini Society asked the United States Attorney General to investigate to see whether Mr. Pope, his newspapers and staff "are so closely affiliated with the Fascist Government in Italy or with any political organization abroad" that they are violating United States laws.

Mr. Pope, however, is a powerful political figure. Men who can sway the opinions of large blocs of voters are men to be reckoned with, and Mr. Pope is such a man in the Democratic Party. One of his former editorial writers, Jack Ingegneros, who describes himself as a "well-disciplined Fascist," and who took part in the Fascist march on Rome, founded the Federation of Italian American Democratic Organizations of the State of New York, Inc. Mr. Pope is honorary president of this Federation. Mr. Pope was on the platform with President Roosevelt when the President made his Madison Square Garden speech in New York City in the last campaign; he gave a testimonial dinner to Edward J. Flynn on his selection as Democratic National Chairman.

On the Two Leading Papers

Mr. Pope is also an important business figure in New York as president of the Colonial Sand Company. His company furnished construction material for such vast projects as the Empire State Building, Radio City, and the West Side Highway.¹²

If any doubt existed of Mr. Pope's attachment to Fascism it would be dispelled by the Mazzini Society's most spectacular evidence, a list of seventeen leading staff members of the two papers whom the Society showed to have Fascist connections. The editor-in-chief of *Il Progresso*, Italo Carlo Falbo, is local representative of the Stefani Agency, the official—and therefore Fascist—Italian newsgathering agency; he is a past president of the Dante

¹⁰ Press release of the Italian News Service (Mazzini Society), Feb. 15, 1941.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, May 19, 1941.

¹² *The Hour*, June 14, 1941.

Alighieri Society, a Fascist cultural organization. Two members of the staff participated in the march on Rome and were awarded medals for their part. The Rome correspondent is an official of the Italian Propaganda Ministry.

The Line of Retreat

Mr. Pope's papers follow a subtle policy today, using great reserve in actual comments on the war as it touches the United States but giving a "good press" to reports of events and speculations that will support Fascist Italy's activities. Mr. Pope himself, formerly an ardent supporter of Mussolini, now avoids praise of him. In 1935 he was being quoted in *Il Progresso* as saying, "We can be sure that under the guidance of our leader Italy will be victorious and tomorrow will be greater and more feared." This was the standard Italian propaganda line of making Italy and Fascism synonymous. Today, Mr. Pope's favorite stand is as the defender of Italian Americans against criticisms. On June 22, 1940, just after the President called Italy's entry into the war a "stab in the back," and when numerous Italian Americans were affirming their loyalty to America, Mr. Pope declared in a signed editorial: "It is not among our people that traitors to America can be found." Recalling the oath that Italian Americans took upon being admitted to citizenship, and the protestations of loyalty already made, he pointed to the talk of "Fifth Column" investigations and said:

No community is called upon to publicly and repeatedly renew its oath of fealty to the Constitution. Why should this obligation be imposed upon Italian-born citizens almost as though there were a doubt as to their loyalty? . . . This wave of terrorism, which un-American interests have sought and are seeking to intensify, must leave us perfectly calm. . . .

When President Roosevelt became caustic about Hitler's peace talk, in a speech on May 27, 1941, *Il Progresso* censored the harsh sentiments. *Il Mondo* printed the speech with the omitted words in italics. Here is one passage:

Your government knows what terms Hitler, *if victorious*, would impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he would accept a *so-called* "negotiated" peace. And under those terms Germany would *literally* parcel out the world—*hoisting the Swastika itself over vast territories and populations*, and setting up puppet governments of *its own choosing*, wholly subject to the will and the *policy* of a conqueror. To the people of the Americas, a *triumphant* Hitler would say, *as he said*

after the seizure of Austria, and after Munich, and after the seizure of Czechoslovakia, "I am now completely satisfied. This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek."¹³

Meanwhile headlines and selection of articles justify Italy's course. On August 23, 1940 a page-one headline said,

The United States seeking territorial expansion; the Italian press supposes that Washington intends to annex Canada.

On August 24, on the editorial page:

New Zealand and the United States: Do you wish for another proof of the many prophecies of a British defeat? Let us call to your attention that New Zealand, like Australia, is seeking closer ties with the United States.

Along with this theme runs the constant refrain that Italy and the Axis are right and are winning, and such articles as this, on January 21, 1941: "Hitler has never dreamed of world conquest."

This fare appears to be among the mildest fed to Italian Americans through the Italian-language press. When one of the Fascist weeklies, *La Gazzetta del Massachusetts* of Boston described the solemn requiem mass in memory of Marshal Italo Balbo, it pictured the church

crowded with people, the authentic people sprung from the vigorous loins of Italy, people unmistakably ours, whose hearts under every sky beat for their Great Mother overseas, particularly when the most decisive hours are passing on the luminous dial of her history.¹⁴

Fascism Also Had Defeats

Against the constant barrage of such sentiments, the Mazzini Society, plus the estimated 10 per cent of the Italian American press that is anti-Fascist, attempts always to distinguish between the Fascist rulers of Italy and the Italian people. The Mazzini Society now has 54 branches over the country. Similar work is done by other societies. At a large meeting of the Massachusetts branch of the Mazzini Society in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Dr. William Y. Elliott of Harvard blamed Italy's military defeats on Fascism:

No one can tell me [he said] that the dreadful humiliation of Italy's honor that we read each day is due to the qualities of Italians as soldiers. I had Italians in my battery who hardly spoke a word of English. They were as fine soldiers, as courageous, as any in the American or any other army.

The Mazzini Society publishes a four-page weekly review analysing world developments

¹³ *Il Mondo*, June, 1941.

¹⁴ *La Gazzetta del Massachusetts*, July 13, 1940.

from a democratic standpoint. For the Fascist picture of Italy as a country to be feared, the Society substitutes the goal, "A free Italy in a free world." The society requires its members to take an oath of faithfulness to the United States Constitution, to oppose every kind of dictatorship and to cooperate actively in the fight against Fascism.

For "Germandom" in America

The Germans in America, appealing to an older and larger stock than the Italians, set out boldly to form a mass movement with talk about taking over the United States Government to make it run properly. Fritz Kuhn, Fuehrer of the German American Bund, now in jail for embezzlement of funds, himself has made the statement that German American groups would take over the United States Government eventually and "urged all people that were interested in a better form of government in the United States" to support Hitler for that reason.¹⁵ This testimony was given before the Dies Committee by Neil Howard Ness, the California mechanical engineer and war veteran who became a member of the California inner circle of the German American Bund, or Friends of New Germany as it was then. He also testified that he was required to take an oath of allegiance to National Socialism and Adolf Hitler and to pledge readiness to "give even our lifeblood in defense of the Fatherland"—meaning Germany.¹⁶

The Nazis appeal powerfully to frustrated unsuccessful individuals by talking with great vehemence about the heritage that has been all but stolen from the people of German descent. The German American Bund in its paper, *The Free American and Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, publishes rousing articles about what "the subjugated and persecuted" must do. In a series starting August 1, 1940, on "The Struggle for Germandom," by Pastor Georg Rath, it demanded minority rights or "Kultur-Autonomie" (cultural autonomy) for German Americans. Bemoaning the lack of German organizations with sufficient authority "to make a successful stand for the mainten-

ance of the German racial group as a GERMAN racial group," the article shouted in capital letters:

WE HAVE NOT LIVED DOWN THE SHAKE-UP OF THE LAST TWO DECADES. WE ARE STILL FACING A BROKEN-DOWN GERMANDOM, BUT—IT WON'T BE LONG NOW. DAWN IS BREAKING ABOVE US AS OVER SO MANY OTHER RACIAL GROUPS ALL OVER THE WORLD. WE SHALL LIVE ONCE MORE! WOULD WE BE GERMANS OTHERWISE? PATIENCE! JUST A LITTLE MORE PATIENCE! AND IT WILL COME TO PASS!

The Germans apparently have been wronged ever since they arrived in this country:

ONCE MORE IT MUST BE STRESSED HERE [Pastor Rath continues in capitals] THAT EVER SINCE THE DAYS OF WILLIAM PENN WE WERE ENTICED BY ALL KINDS OF PROMISES AND ASSURANCES TO COME TO AMERICA. BY NO MEANS DID WE GAIN ACCESS TO OUR CHOSEN HOMELAND AS UNWELCOME INTRUDERS.

Then he warms up to an assertion of intentions:

We do not grant the State the right to represent to our children that the English language is their language simply because they happen to live in America. Even though we live in America we are still Germans. . . . If the State, one-sidedly ignoring its moral obligations toward its citizens of German descent, cannot make up its mind to grant us justice . . . then . . . WE SHALL ARROGATE TO OURSELVES THE RIGHT TO TAKE THE PROTECTION OF OUR RACIAL HERITAGE INTO OUR OWN HANDS.

And here is the demand:

If the State cannot see any reason to assure us of our survival as a racial group, the State . . . must grant us cultural autonomy to serve as a guarantee for the maintenance of our existence as a German racial group. It (cultural autonomy) should embrace everything that constitutes the heritage of our folkdom; the sphere of education as a whole as well as arts and science, religion, economy and credit, and all questions pertaining to the maintenance of our race.

"Germans Stand Together"

Shades of Sudetenland! The burning appeal made by this account of supposed wrongs to the mythical German "race" is steadily reinforced by other powerful suggestions. Thus one propaganda organ, *Der Volksdeutsche*, circulated in this country has a front-page illustration building up the idea that merely to be a German means strength because all Germans stand together. The illustration shows a fine-looking man standing with arms tied, while a bestial figure, lash in hand, is just about to strike. Over the scene looms the great, stern face of a German soldier in his helmet, making the

¹⁵ 76th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, *Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities on H. Res. 282*. (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939), vol. 9, p. 5516.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5492.

bestial figure cringe. The motto under the soldier's face reads, "He Who Smiteth Germans, Smiteth Germany!"

The same theme is used in a propaganda film circulated here, "Brother Stands by Brother." Then along comes another film, "Sieg Im Westen," (Victory in the West). Here is the great German army—which stands by all Germans—shown crashing through France and the Low Countries. A report made on the film by Dr. Gordon Willard Allport, professor of psychology at Harvard, stressed that it made resistance seem hopeless and built up a sense of anger (at Germany's enemies).

The theme of the film [Professor Allport said] is one of irresistible on-rush shots taken from dive bombers and tanks, actual battle scenes, but never, never, a dead body. One sees always German successes, and the moral that resistance is hopeless. In the final scenes of the armistice, every ounce of melodramatic revenge is wrung from the scene. Nazi flags are displayed with great flamboyance. . . . Of the reactions experienced, i.e., nausea, disgust, fear, anger and thrill, the "anger pattern" was the most dominant.¹⁷

Through such means the dupe of German propaganda has constantly dinned into his head the idea of power coming to him as a "racial comrade." His loyalty to the German idea is further built up by the scapegoat process. This is the well-known Nazi system of blaming frustrations on the Jews, and calling any opponent a Jew. Thus the individual vents his hate on the scapegoat and becomes the more devoted to the movement that is going to solve things for him.

Germans "Explain" the English

The attachment to the Nazi cause is preserved by the careful treatment of the news. Thus, the now closed German Library of Information in New York neatly hinted in its May 5, 1941 *Facts in Review* the real reason why the *blitzkrieg* in Greece was so swift. The British just walked out on their allies.

Under the headline, "How Long Did the British Fight," it said:

It is interesting to learn the extent of the part actually taken by Great Britain in the "War of the Two Fronts." The Balkan campaign began on April 6, but not a single British soldier was encountered on Yugoslav territory. According to reports from headquarters, contact was forced for the first time by rapidly advancing German units . . . on April 15. Since April 19, the British expeditionary forces have been in full flight. . . .

¹⁷ Quoted in *News Letter*, May 21, 1941.

There are about 178 German-language publications in the United States, thirteen of them daily papers, 111 of them weeklies, and all but a few give favorable treatment to the Nazi regime, according to a survey made in the fall of 1940 by *News Letter*. This paper is a vigorous anti-Nazi and anti-Communist weekly published by News Research Service, Inc., in Los Angeles.

Such an important paper as the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, whose publishers, the Ridder brothers, own also the New York Journal of Commerce and the St. Paul (Minn.) *Dispatch* and *Pioneer Press*, follows a reserved editorial policy toward the Nazis but favors their side in the news columns and reprints material from German papers—which are all under the supervision of Propaganda Minister Goebbels.

Washington's Words Bob Up

This has been the policy followed by innumerable German papers around the country. Without openly commenting, they either print quotations from other papers against the war and aid to Britain or they give prominent display to statements that serve as warning to stay out. *The New England Rundschau* of Holyoke, Mass., solemnly discussed the United States-Canada treaty last summer as an "entangling alliance" out of harmony with Washington's Farewell Letter. The same issue, August 23, 1940, had a feature article on Krupp on his seventieth birthday, telling what he did for German armaments and how he stood up for his workers against French oppressors during the Rhineland occupation after the last war.

The desire to keep America out of the war is held by the majority of the 32,000,000 persons of German descent in the United States, in the opinion of the national chairman of the Steuben Society, Theodore H. Hoffman. Delivering over Station WHA in Milwaukee on April 30, 1941 a speech later inserted into the Congressional Record by Senator Nye, he declared that "Americans of Germanic extraction do not want Communism, Fascism or Nazism, and they do not want British imperialism. They want Americanism." He concluded with an urgent appeal for telegrams to the President and Congressmen to keep the country out of war.

The Nazis' anti-Semitic, anti-Communist and

anti-democratic policies and their rapid success in developing a strong nationalism in Germany quickly won them a following among kindred spirits in this country. William Dudley Pelley, fuehrer of the Silver Shirts, was a speaker at German House in Los Angeles, the Bund's headquarters there, the Dies Committee was informed by Neil Howard Ness. Mr. Pelley said "he was proud of being pro-German; he was proud of the fact that he had been called the Adolf Hitler of America, because that is what he considered himself to be."¹⁸

The Uncertain 90 Per Cent

The German-American Congress for Democracy believes, according to Dr. Bohn, its president, that not more than 5 per cent of German Americans are for Hitler, while another 5 per cent are definitely against him. In between Dr. Bohn says, is the other 90 per cent. It is this large group among whom the Congress is working. Like the Mazzini Society it seeks to expose sources of anti-democratic propaganda. It is arranging lectures, radio talks—including short-wave broadcasts to Germany; it is holding meetings, and publishing material. It will shortly start a weekly bulletin. The Congress voices confidence in the Constitution of the United States as a "bulwark of democracy, individual liberty and rights of property." The provisions of the Constitution, the Congress says in a preamble to its statement of "Aims and Purposes," "have enabled the American people to withstand many crises and to weather successfully many storms, political and financial, sometimes even those racial and religious, usually without violence."

Another organization being formed among German Americans will be called the Loyal Americans of German Descent. Its purpose is to deal with the discrimination being practiced against American workers with German names.

The Nazis' drive in Europe has also put them at the head of other nationalist groups which have designs for setting up new governments in Europe. Most prominent among these at present are two rival Ukrainian separatist movements which have had Hitler's active sup-

¹⁸ 76th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, *Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities on H. Res. 282* (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939), vol. ix, p. 5495.

port or tolerance and have come to the fore in connection with his attack on Russia. These rival organizations, both small, are trying to mobilize support among the 800,000 persons of Ukrainian descent in this country. One, the Hetman, seeks to establish a monarchy in the Ukraine. The rival and larger group, the ODWU, whose president in the United States is Professor A. Granovsky of the University of Minnesota, had supported the idea of a fuehrer-ship but in its convention on July 6, 1941 adopted resolutions of support to President Roosevelt and the British Empire. These and similar organizations in other language groups have helped to promote Nazi propaganda in this country in furtherance of their own drives.

Why should the immigrant groups be of such great interest to established governments like the German and Italian? Because conditions make these groups particularly susceptible to propaganda and they are potentially useful for trade, for sources of remittances to the relations at home, and for valuable blocs of opinion at times like the present.

Why the Propaganda Works

The foreign-language groups are made so susceptible to propaganda by the difficulty in adjusting to the strange ways of the new world, and by their complete break from their traditional environment and habits.

Most Americans still think the present immigrants are able to make their way here as easily as the earlier ones did. It is assumed that as soon as they arrive in the "Land of the Free" their troubles are over. To a considerable extent this was true up to the end of the last century. Until then there was still pioneering to be done, in which strength and the simple rustic arts which the immigrants brought were enough. Since the turn of the century the pioneering days have ended, the methods of work have left the old craft skills far behind and the complexities of living have become bewilderingly different. Moreover, during the early years here the immigrants are the prey of all kinds of charlatans who rob and browbeat them and get them into endless difficulties. No governmental agency helps the immigrants. The established citizens ignore them or cold-shoulder them as an "out group." So they remain miserable and dissatisfied. In war periods

their difficulties increase. Spy and now "fifth column" scares often lead to discrimination being practiced against them; often they lose their jobs or are prevented from taking new ones.

Chilly Between Wars

So it is not surprising that the immigrants choose to remain with people who speak their own tongue, to belong to organizations with others of their language group, and to read papers printed in their language. Organization has been a saving factor in easing the adjustment of the immigrants to their new life. While it slows up somewhat the process of Americanization, this process seems to go ahead anyway.

The sons and daughters of the immigrants find as serious an adjustment problem as their parents. They, says Professor Davie in his *World Immigration*,

are in a trying situation. The cultural heritage of their parents is largely lost for them, and at the same time they have not fully acquired American culture nor been accepted on equal terms by native Americans. Many are oppressed by feelings of inferiority. . . . Some second-generation immigrants break away entirely from the homes of their parents and eventually repudiate their origin. . . . The majority form a mass of neutral citizenry without a vital sense of background, perennially oppressed by the feeling that they will live outside the main stream of American life.¹⁹

When this feeling of inferiority and the chilly reception from the "in group" are combined with economic difficulties, they are apt to make the young second-generation immigrants the prey of extreme movements. Professor Salvemini has pointed out that the offspring of successful immigrants are the source of the most determined Italian Fascists.

These young men have felt discriminated against because they are Italians [he points out] and among those who are out of work, discouraged and embittered, Fascist propaganda acts like a spark in a haymow. Playing on their inferiority complex and their reaction against real or imaginary injustices, it stirs them to hatred of this country, which they feel is a step-mother rather than a mother to them.²⁰

In war periods some effort is likely to be made to give the foreign-language groups a pro-democratic leadership. In the last war the Creel Committee assisted in the formation of organizations for this purpose. Some of the organizations materially assisted the government by

helping to turn populations of Germany and Austria-Hungary against their rulers. The foundations for the Czechoslovak Republic were laid here by Thomas Masaryk, with the help of the Creel Committee.²¹

One of the organizations created in the last war, the Foreign Language Information Service, has continued to inform the foreign-born about America's life and institutions, its occupational methods and possibilities. Until 1940 the main approach of this Service was through material supplied to the foreign-language press. It has now embarked on a broader effort, to end the intolerance that many old Americans show toward the new and to bring a general acceptance of citizens of all racial backgrounds, "as equals."

"Crack Down" Is Not Enough

Various local organizations, like the International Institutes, originally a part of the YWCA, and such bodies as the Immigrants Protective League, have long done work along these lines.

How much unity has been built through such work, and through other agencies such as the trade union movement and the churches could only be told if a great crisis tested the loyalties. But it is evident that a governmental "crack down" on the foreign officials manipulating foreign-language groups for foreign ends is not enough. The fundamental fact is that the conditions of life here prepare the way for anti-democratic propaganda among the foreign-born. The problem is to correct these conditions.

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¹⁹ Maurice R. Davie, *World Immigration* (Macmillan, New York, 1936), p. 491.

²⁰ Gaetano Salvemini, *Italian Fascist Activities in the U. S.* (American Council of Public Affairs, Washington, D. C., 1940), p. 6-7.

²¹ These activities are described in James R. Mock's and Cedric Larson's *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1919* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1939).

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NEW MEMBERSHIP PLAN

At a recent meeting, the Executive Committee of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc., adopted a plan of membership classifications and privileges, a copy of which will be sent to Institute members with their next dues statement. In this new classification, the subscription price of *Propaganda Analysis Bulletin* remains \$2.00 a year; the subscriber-membership, at \$3.00 a year, enables members in this classification to aid in maintaining the broad educational program of the Institute.

Propaganda Analysis Guide

ONE of the important facts about propaganda recognized by the Germans and Italians in their work in this country is that in order to be able to propagandize effectively it is important to have control of the channels of communication. The Nazis and the Fascists made it their main business to get control of organizations, to be able to put pressure on the foreign-language radio, press, and so on.

Try to study the history of one of the local German or Italian clubs in your area that was taken over by the Nazis or Fascists. See what sort of views were expressed by its leaders before the Nazis or Fascists arrived; what sort of resolutions were adopted; how close relations with Germany or Italy were maintained. Then compare all these points with what came out of the club *after* the Nazis or Fascists got control.

Try to find out, also, *how* the latter got control. What methods of persuasion were used; what influence was brought to bear? If the

Nazi or Fascist leaders are still in control, the former leaders may be glad to help you.

Study some of the typical local American organizations in your area. Read their resolutions, publicity material, speeches of their officers. Analyze these from the standpoint of the program which the club is trying to promote. What interests of the members will be served by the promotion of this program? Try to write a case history of the club, showing what it has stood for at various periods and see if you can learn why the programs changed, and whether the change had anything to do with changes in control. If they did, compare the organization's propaganda before the change and after.

The Institute wishes to announce that a DECIDE-FOR-YOURSELF Packet is being issued on "Axis Voices Among the Foreign-Born." This Packet contains materials issued by research and interest groups which illustrate vividly the tensions in this field.

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Council for Democracy	Ring of Freedom
Communist Party	Socialist Party
Democratic National Committee	Twentieth Century Fund
General Motors Corporation	United Service Organizations

* * *

In addition, each of these *Packets* contains the PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS *Bulletin*, "American Common Sense," and an especially prepared *Decide-for-Yourself Guide*, to aid individuals and groups in studying *Packet* materials.

Titles Available: "Labor and National Defense" (April),
"War" (May), "Critical Thinking in a Crisis" (June),
"Axis Voices Among the Foreign-Born" (July).

Titles Planned: "The Negro Looks at Democracy" (August),
"Your Health and Propaganda," "The Women Talk It Over."

* * *

Subscriptions for the *Packets* (including *Bulletins*) are \$10.00 a year. Individual *Packets* are \$1.00 each; \$9.00 for ten; \$15.00 for twenty.

* * *

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Propaganda Analysis

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A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

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Volume IV

Number 10

Negroes Ask About Democracy

"WE HAVE been aware . . . for a long time that a considerable section of America has already been conditioned to the Nazi conception of race." So wrote the editor of *Opportunity*, *Journal of Negro Life*, the monthly magazine of the National Urban League, over Governor Talmadge's recent action in Georgia. The Governor expelled three leading officers and two professors of his state's educational system allegedly for teaching that Negroes should be educated in the same schools with whites. The *Opportunity* editorial was entitled, "A Georgia Hitler."

The use of Hitler's name for Name-Calling purposes is hardly new. The charge, however, that Americans actually practice some of the racial theories for which they denounce Hitler, is true. The idea of racial superiority is the foundation of Hitler's propaganda. Today, when Americans are stressing their determination to defend democracy, their attitude toward racial discrimination is a test of their good faith. Our treatment of Negroes, therefore, has great bearing on the formation of opinion, both Negro and white, during the present crisis of democracy.

The vast majority of Negroes are patriotic and only anxious to participate further in the national life. Today when the white population is more conscious of the need for national unity, the Negroes and their white supporters see their best chance to lift the race another step toward racial equality. They are conducting a propaganda campaign to keep constantly in public view the deadly parallel between Hitler's racial ideas and America's practices. To the lofty expressions of the country's statesmen they reply with the question, How do these

sentiments apply to the Negro? When President Roosevelt calls, as he did on March 15, 1941, for an end to "compromise with tyranny and the forces of repression," when he asks "every man and woman within our borders who loves liberty . . . to put aside all personal differences until victory is won," to have "no division of party, or section or race or nationality or religion," the Negro leaders cite the record. "Those are fine, thrilling words from Mr. Roosevelt," commented *The Crisis*, organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but it continued:

The trouble is that a great many people in this country have not understood what they mean. . . . On the very day Mr. Roosevelt spoke Negro men were being denied employment in factories which are supposed to be intensely at work moving "products from the assembly lines of our factories to the battle lines of democracy." . . .

And all the while every avenue of communication is burdened with the sickening repetition that this "effort" is to defend and strengthen democracy.¹

So the Negro organizations are propagandizing today for specific deeds, not fine words. They want, most of all, jobs, and respectable ones, which will break down the prejudice against such employment. They want an end to "Jim Crowism," which perpetuates the idea of discrimination. The Negro organizations and press are driving home these demands. This is the major propaganda effort touching the Negro today.

A second main propaganda campaign is that of white persons and groups who wish the support of the Negroes in the war effort or wish to demonstrate to the whole country the earnestness of their ideals for world democracy. These groups, which are strongly backing the

¹ *The Crisis*, April, 1941.

Roosevelt policies abroad, are enlisting Negroes in their movement and framing statements of policies which will command their support. The Administration is giving demonstrations of its concern by exerting some pressure to obtain jobs for Negroes and by bringing Negroes into advisory positions in the OPM.

There is a third main stream of propaganda among the Negroes, an extreme racism of the same type as whites have shown and with which Hitler is now making capital. The movement is small at the moment, but it is a continuation of the Pan-Africanism which the late Marcus Garvey built into a sizeable movement, reaching its peak just after the last war, in 1920. As the pro-democratic oratory continues today, it reminds Negroes forcefully of the treatment they have received and paves the way for the propagandists of this line to fan the resentment into a hatred of all things white.

The present Bulletin deals with these propagandas among the Negroes.

The main propaganda theme of the leading Negro groups is one that requires little artistry from a propaganda standpoint. The conditions that frustrate the Negro are known in broad outlines to everyone. The organizations, through their official publications and public statements, Simplify the current happenings down to sharp issues of right and wrong, and Reinforce² the zeal of their members, and enlist new members by constant reminders and demonstrations of the discrimination which the race suffers.

Race Practice in America

The lack of opportunity and the discrimination confront Negroes in every phase of their life, in the Army, the Navy, in industry and agriculture, in politics, education, and even in leisure time activities. When the Selective Training and Service Act was passed in 1940, Negroes were almost entirely limited to service in four regiments, two of infantry and two of cavalry.³ Negro organizations have had some success in reducing this discrimination. Soon after the Act was passed the War Department

² The psychological processes on which propaganda generally relies were briefly described in *Propaganda Analysis*, Vol. III, No. 10.

³ Letter to Mr. John Shaw, 1807 Spring Street, Marshall, Texas, from the War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, July 23, 1940, signed J. S. Adams, Major General, the Adjutant General.

announced a policy of using a number of Negroes proportionate to the Negro population of the country as a whole. Likewise it appointed Dean W. H. Hastie of Howard Law School as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War and elevated Colonel Ben Davis to a brigadier-generalship. It also created a special pursuit squadron in the Air Corps and a group of Negro officers in the Medical Corps.⁴ However, despite pressure by Negro leaders on the White House, the War Department has announced that it will continue the policy of segregating Negroes in special regiments since that policy has been found satisfactory in the past.⁵

Few Jobs With Prestige

The Negro's difficulties in entering the Air Force, though partially overcome, typify his

⁴ New York *Herald Tribune*, October 16, 1940. Letter to Dr. Herbert B. Henderson, 249 West 128th Street, New York City, from L. C. Schellenberger, Captain, Medical Corps, Assistant in War Department, Office of the Surgeon General, November 5, 1940.

⁵ The text of this statement was published in the New York *Herald Tribune*, October 10, 1940.

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Segregation Always Makes "News" to Negroes

This picture of a special colored bus at Fort Bragg, N. C., was a page 1 illustration for Negro press accounts of the recent clash between colored soldiers and white military police. (Courtesy of *Amsterdam Star-News*.)

difficulties in obtaining any position that gives prestige. This is the variety of discrimination most keenly resented. *The Crisis*, official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, commented with bitterness on Army claims of a pilot shortage made in the face of an announcement that only 33 Negro pilots would be trained in an annual program designed to turn out 30,000 pilots a year.⁸ This announcement looks, remarked *The Crisis*, "suspiciously like a smoke screen to confuse and quiet Negro opinion while doing very little about actual training of Negroes."⁷

In the Navy discrimination is more rigidly applied than in the army. It amounts to an exclusion of colored persons from the active

force, since the Navy enlists Negroes only as mess attendants.⁸ In other words, commented the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "The Navy says: . . . come in and be a servant."⁹

At the same time there are repeated assertions, like that of the National Urban League, a Negro-white organization, "that there must be no question as to the Negro's loyalty and willingness to defend his country."¹⁰

In industry, where Negroes are at the bottom of the economic pile, discrimination has

⁸ Letter to Thurgood Marshall, NAACP official in New York, from C. W. Minitz, Navy Department, Bureau of Investigation, Washington, August 2, 1940.

⁹ *The Crisis*, August, 1941.

¹⁰ National Urban League, *The Negro and National Defense* (a pamphlet) pp. 2-3.

⁷ *The Crisis*, April, 1941.

⁸ *Ibid.*

kept them from enjoying many of the fruits of the defense boom. Accurate figures on the extent of race discrimination are not yet available even to Negro organizations themselves.¹¹

There is much evidence, however, that many corporations make a policy of refusing employment to Negroes, regardless of qualifications. On the basis of available information from many parts of the United States, said the Council for Democracy, a white organization seeking to build democratic morale,

it is clear that Negroes are not generally being given anything remotely approaching full opportunity to use their skill in serving the needs of defense. . . . Evidence is uniform, even monotonously so, of deliberate exclusion of skilled Negro workers from industries clamoring for just such skill.¹²

This picture is borne out in a report of the Social Security Board. It showed that during the six months from August, 1940, to January, 1941, the total number accepted for vocational training by the public employment service was 89,529, of whom 2,434 were colored. The total placements in jobs were 15,455, of which the total colored placements amounted to 50.¹³

Discrimination Has Its Uses

Whatever the reasons that have spread the custom of keeping Negro and white labor apart, the existence of the custom has at times been used to serve specific purposes. Many employers wishing to fight unions have taken advantage of it. "In almost every labor disturbance in the steel industry between 1878 and the middle 1880's, in the slaughtering and packing industries and among the coal miners of the middle and southwest [states] between 1890 and 1900, Negro strike breakers were used," says the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.¹⁴ In the big Ford strike of early April, 1941, in Detroit, 1500 Negro workers remained in the plant, being fed by the company, and engaged in a "brief but bloody battle with the union pickets."¹⁵ The circumstances led *The Crisis* to describe the incident as "an attempt on the part of the com-

pany to use Negroes as stooges to break the strike and to create ill-feeling between the races."¹⁶ More recently a serious breach in the ranks of the local Steel Workers union in the Republic Steel plant at Canton, Ohio, developed under circumstances that suggested manipulation. The Corporation, which has long opposed unionization, has a death benefit plan in which its Negro employees, totalling ten per cent of the force, were formerly included. When the Steel Workers union recently became established the company proposed to the local union that the Negroes be dropped from the death benefit plan on the ground that their higher mortality rate made them a higher liability. The local union agreed, whereupon most Negroes dropped their union membership.¹⁷

In Many Unions, Too

White employees practice discrimination also, as is seen in the barriers to membership maintained by unions. This is particularly true of the long-established unions in which the craft tradition is strong. They seek to maintain a monopoly of the skilled craftsmen working in a particular trade, and set up certain standards and even lodge rituals for admittance. Twenty-one American Federation of Labor and Railroad Brotherhood unions specifically exclude Negroes. Others accept them in an inferior status, some admit them to full membership but in separate units, and some maintain no formal barrier but tacitly keep down the number of Negro members.¹⁸ Only eight¹⁹ of the American Federation of Labor's 102 predominantly white international and national unions admit Negroes freely. The AFL has as a wholly Negro affiliate, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The effect of the exclusion policies of AFL unions was illustrated in extreme fashion in the fall of 1940 when the AFL Shipbuilders Union of Tampa, Fla., signed a closed-shop contract with a shipyard working on defense contracts. The union refused membership to 500 Negro workers then employed, and under its closed

¹¹ Walter White, "It's Our Country, Too," *Saturday Evening Post*, December 14, 1940.

¹² Council for Democracy, *The Negro and Defense* (a booklet), p. 6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁴ Abram L. Harris and Sterling D. Spero, "Negro Problem," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Macmillan, New York, 1937), XI, p. 340.

¹⁵ *The Crisis*, May, 1941.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Facts supplied by National Urban League.

¹⁸ Edward Byron Reuter, *The American Race Problem: A Study of the Negro* (Crowell, New York, 1933), pp. 245-7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 247, and Beulah Amidon, "Negroes and Defense," *Survey Graphic*, June, 1941.

shop these men were thrown out of work.²⁰

The CIO unions are more favorable to Negroes. The CIO seeks to enroll in one union all or nearly all the employees of any one employer. It has adopted this formula as more likely to win strikes, and the desire to avoid the possibility that Negro employees may stay at work during a strike offsets any initial race prejudice. This has led the CIO to pledge "uncompromising opposition to any form of discrimination." The members of some of its locals are dubious about accepting Negroes into full participation at first, but they soon come to do so in most cases.²¹ Its huge steel, automobile and garment unions have large Negro membership; some of its unions, notably the Transport Workers in New York, have striven to obtain for Negro workers the same opportunities for advancement as white workers.²² Although the CIO does not have a uniform record, its policy represents on the whole, in Negro opinion, "the one bright star in an otherwise dark union firmament."²³

Staying on the Bottom

The result of the general discrimination is that Negroes are mostly kept out of skilled jobs. Other factors also tend to preserve and even worsen their economic position. The decline of the cotton industry in the past two decades has brought greater economic insecurity to the Negro.²⁴ Likewise the depression increased the competition for jobs between the races. The line between a "white man's job" and a "Negro's job" as commonly defined has been pushed over to the point where Negroes find themselves excluded from many occupations in which they formerly enjoyed a monopoly.²⁵

Besides the discrimination in industry, the Negro's educational opportunities are still meager,²⁶ especially in the South. There he is handicapped further by being deprived—through a combination of legal and extra-legal means—of

²⁰ Lester B. Granger of National Urban League, speech of June 6, 1941.

²¹ Amidon, *op. cit.*

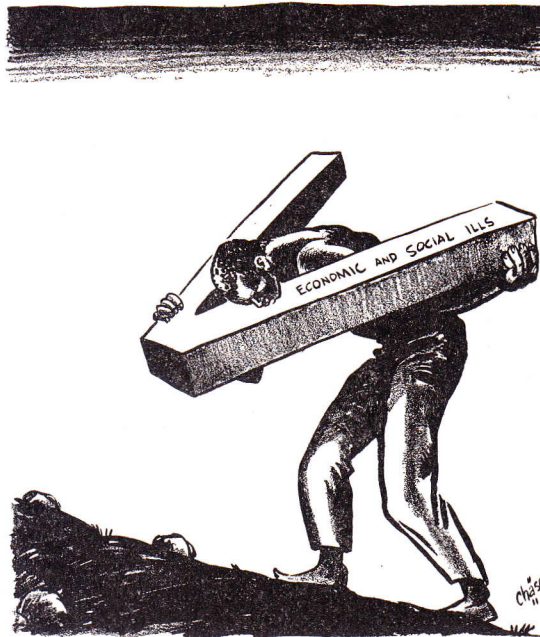
²² Granger statement to Institute interviewer.

²³ T. Arnold Hill, *The Negro and Economic Reconstruction* (Associates in Negro Folk Education, Washington, D. C., 1937), p. 58.

²⁴ Ira DeA. Reid, *In a Minor Key* (American Council on Education, Washington, 1940), p. 45.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁶ Reuter, *op. cit.*, p. 291.



"V Is Also for Vassal"

An example of how symbols can be put to various uses. This cartoon, under the caption above, plays on the "V for Victory" campaign. It Reinforces the Negroes' determination to lift the status of their race. The cartoon appeared in the *Amsterdam Star-News*, New York.

the right to vote. Generally speaking the Negro is on the bottom rung of the economic ladder and faces more handicaps than a white in his effort to struggle up it.²⁷ Even in Northern cities where some of his race have achieved a comfortable standard of living, the mass of Negroes still face "Debilitating poverty or at best extreme difficulty in earning enough to keep body and soul together, with the inevitable consequences of family disorganization and emotional violence, undernourishment, and weakened health."²⁸ The political and economic factors are of course closely related. In the South, where a nearly illiterate white can vote while a Negro with a university degree cannot because of the various barriers, the Negro is deprived of an important weapon in the struggle to better his position.

Americans, being ardent believers in equality of opportunity, have developed a series of rationalizations to explain the dominant position of the whites. It is against these that the Negroes and their many supporters among the whites

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

²⁸ W. Lloyd Warner, Buford H. Junker, Walter A. Adams, *Color and Human Nature*, prepared for the American Youth Commission (American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1941), p. 294.

aim much of their propaganda, at least that part designed to shock the white conscience. Many persons justify the low economic and social position of the Negroes by the statement that they belong to an inferior race. Many believe that a mixture of the races would result disastrously. This is what Hitler teaches. He asserts:

The loss of racial purity ruins the fortunes of a race forever; it continues to sink lower and lower and its consequences can never be expelled again from body and mind.²⁹

Such beliefs are widely held by educated persons even today, despite the absence of scientific support. They are of course especially prevalent in the South, where they form the intellectual and emotional basis of the separation of the races.³⁰

What the Whites Forget

The propagandists for racial superiority of white over Negro forget that many supposedly Negro characteristics are not qualities that are biologically transmitted. The customs, habits, ways of living of a group of people are not passed from one generation to the next through the blood stream. They are learned afresh by each generation. They are acquired characteristics, subject to change with changing conditions. The Negro in our society who learns to speak English and becomes a Pullman porter is biologically and racially the same as the African Negro who learns to speak Bantu and look down on sordid gain. This is the basis of the almost universal consensus among anthropologists that there are no significant differences between the intellectual and emotional qualities of the races of man.³¹

Proponents of white superiority likewise point to the higher disease record of the Negro and his lower score in the Army intelligence tests of the last war as evidence of his physical and intellectual inferiority. Such writers forget that the Negro, as the poorest group in the

population, receives the least adequate medical care, an important factor in his susceptibility to disease. Likewise the effects of environment and opportunity appear in the Army intelligence figures after they have been broken down a little further. Negroes from certain Northern states enjoying superior educational advantages made better scores than did the whites from some of the Southern states.³² When an explanation flatters our vanity, we must be more than usually on the lookout for Card-Stacking propaganda.

Whites accept their own propaganda of superiority so readily because race pride is a special form of what Sumner calls "ethnocentrism" ³³ This is the tendency of a group to praise its own customs and way of life and to look upon the habits of other groups with contempt and occasionally loathing. Ethnocentrism accounts for the numerous epithets Americans apply to various ethnic groups, such as "Dago," "Bohunk," "Sheeny," "Mick" and the rest. This tendency is widespread: almost every social group manages to find some reason for looking down on its neighbors.

The Thinking Has to Change

To change the white man's thinking about the Negro it is necessary for the Negro to win positions in which he can show his abilities and earn respect. Several white and colored organizations have this as a main propaganda objective and work by calling attention to the more startling aspects of discrimination. A number of Negro organizations cooperated in the most spectacular device yet adopted for this purpose, the "March on Washington," to obtain for Negroes a proportionate share of jobs in defense industries. Previous efforts had produced only scattered results. The march was sponsored by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Lester B. Granger of the National Urban League, were active organizers. Both the CIO and the AFL were represented on the executive committee. Between forty and fifty

²⁹ Adolf Hitler, *My Battle* (Houghton Mifflin, Cambridge, 1933), p. 133.

³⁰ Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom* (Viking, New York, 1939), p. 23.

John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937), p. 363.

³¹ Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (Appleton-Century, New York, 1936), Chaps. II, III. Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (Macmillan, New York, 1938). William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Ginn, Boston, 1906), Chap. I.

³² Otto Klineberg, *Race Differences* (Harpers, New York, 1935), p. 182.

³³ Sumner, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13. See also The Institute for Propaganda Analysis, *The Fine Art of Propaganda* (Harcourt Brace, New York, 1939), Chaps. IV, V.

local committees were set up, mostly along the Atlantic seaboard, though some were as far west as Colorado. Plans were laid to register a hundred thousand Negroes, to converge on Washington on July 1, 1941, and demand of Congress the end of discrimination.

Just before the march was to take place, President Roosevelt appointed the Fair Employment Practice Committee, headed by Mark Ethridge, general manager of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, attaching it to the Office of Production Management. The executive order setting up the committee, which was issued on June 25, 1941, requires that

All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

The leaders postponed the march. To make certain that the executive order would not be a mere gesture they have kept the local committees of the "March on Washington" intact and given them the task of seeing that there is no discrimination in the local districts they represent. As yet the Fair Employment Practice Committee has not taken any action to enforce the no-discrimination clause in the executive order, being still engaged on a preliminary survey of the situation.

The Struggle is Organized

The NAACP and the National Urban League are the oldest and best established of the Negro organizations. Both organizations date from a few years before the last war. The NAACP claims a paid membership of 52,000, with minimum dues set at one dollar. Last year its total income from membership dues was just short of \$44,000, while other general contributions totalled \$11,000.³⁴ The Urban League has some 45 local branches throughout the country, and about 1,000 members belong directly to the national organization. The League receives a considerable proportion of its funds from foundations, and some from small individual gifts.

While following a militant policy of Negro advancement, both organizations cooperate with whites favorable to the Negro cause. The membership of the local boards of the Urban

League is around 40 per cent white, while two outstanding white liberals, Lewis Gannett and William Allan Neilson are on the editorial board of *The Crisis*, official publication of the NAACP.

An outstanding objective of these two organizations is to combat discrimination against the Negro in the Army and Navy, economic fields and in law. Legal defense forms an important part of the work of the NAACP, which last year won a number of victories in the Supreme Court establishing legal precedents in the field of Negro rights prohibiting residential segregation and barring inequality in teachers' salaries because of race.³⁵ Both the NAACP and the Urban League are active in the effort to obtain skilled work for Negroes. League officials confer with contractors and union agents, mobilize community opinion, and sometimes secure the intervention of Federal Agencies.³⁶ Many Negroes throughout the country are working at jobs from which they were excluded before these organizations took up their cases.

The Poorest Are Cynical

Both the NAACP and the Urban League draw support from the relatively more prosperous Negroes. Their program and activities do not always reach the poorer Negroes, though over a long period the Negro group as a whole benefits from the prestige won by the Negroes in the upper levels. Professor Frazier of Howard University found in his study of Negroes in Washington, D. C., and Louisville that few of those in the lower economic levels have ever heard of the aims and program of either organization. Although in this particular instance the Urban League was just forming in Washington, the author indicates that the situation is typical and comments on the widespread "cynical distrust of organizations designed to improve their status and well-being."³⁷

The National Negro Congress, headed by Dr. Max Yergan, is much further to the left than the NAACP or the Urban League. It is organized in local councils, of which it claims

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 23.

³⁵ National Urban League, *The National Urban League's Work in 1940* (Extracts from the Thirtieth Annual Report), p. 10.

³⁷ E. Franklin Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways*, prepared for the American Youth Commission (American Council on Education, Washington, 1940), p. 170.

³⁴ NAACP Annual Report for 1940, p. 43.

to have 3,000. There are active locals in many large cities, including Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New York, Brooklyn, Detroit, Chicago and Los Angeles. Its funds come from the local councils, which receive dues from members, and from outside gifts. It receives support from some foundations, but not from the best known ones.³⁸

Pressure Through Publicity

The Congress operates by direct pressure methods. When its Washington branch sought to end discrimination in the Glenn Martin Aircraft plant, it had colored delegations march outside the grounds demanding positions for 7,000 colored workers. The demonstrations were kept up continuously for five weeks, providing scenes for photographs which the Negro press published repeatedly. The Congress obtained the support of the Mayor of Baltimore in this campaign. Expecting victory after the Executive Order of President Roosevelt demanding the end of racial discrimination, which was issued in June, the representatives of the Congress were only able to report by July 11 that they were "pleased with the trend of . . . conversations" with Glenn Martin and other company officers. The company escaped the regulations of the Executive Order because the contracts for defense orders were discussed previous to the issuance of the order, the Congress was informed by War Department officials.³⁹

Through their press, the Negroes receive detailed accounts of cases of discrimination of which the white population hears little or nothing. Such stories make a considerable part of the papers' spectacular material. They thus have the propaganda effect of Reinforcing the Negroes' awareness that they are treated as an inferior race. This is true not only of such official organs as *The Crisis* and *Opportunity* but also of the Negro commercial press. The incidents are of course linked with major national issues in the usual newspaper style. When Governor Talmadge forced out the five white Georgia educators in July, 1941, the Negro daily, the *Atlanta World*, printed indignant comments, such as that of the Atlanta

Civic-Political League, that "we cannot effectively fight Hitlerism in the world while permitting it to grow on our very doorstep." The *World* added its own comment editorially, that "this is not the time for the disunity sought by dictator methods such as are being used in Georgia."⁴⁰

The tragedy of Fort Bragg, near Fayetteville, N. C., in early August, 1941, when a Negro soldier shot dead a white military policeman and in turn was killed by a white police sergeant, and six other men—five of them colored—were wounded, made the banner headline for the New York *Amsterdam Star-News* on August 16, 1941. The paper had sent a reporter to Fort Bragg, who opened his story with the statement that, "Fort Bragg is definitely no place for Negro soldiers under present conditions. And Fayetteville, N. C., is no place for Negroes either. Even the native colored residents are scared stiff." The story spoke of the "countless abuses heaped on" the Negro soldiers "by white, Southern, gun-crazy military policemen," and said that the colored soldiers had "long suffered from failure of officials to provide sufficient Negro military policemen and endow them with sufficient authority to operate efficiently."

There are now 108 Negro papers in the country, mostly weeklies, seven of them with circulations of more than 20,000. The largest, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, has a circulation of 129,049. The *Atlanta World* is the only daily. The Negro newspapers generally are patterned after the more sensational white papers, such as the Hearst papers and the *Chicago Tribune*.⁴¹

Negro Support Is Wanted

Of white propaganda intended to influence Negroes the most conspicuous is that of organizations urging action to defeat Hitler. Fight for Freedom, Inc., the main white committee mobilizing opinion for war measures, is advocating a policy of equality and justice for the race. It has organized a Harlem division, the manifesto of which reads in part:

During the past war we made brave promises of interracial justice—after the war would be over. The promises were forgotten. Today we must prove as we march towards war that we mean to advance freedom for ALL men here in America.

⁴⁰ *Atlanta Daily World*, July 23, 1941.

⁴¹ John Syrjamaki, "The Negro Press in 1938," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. xxiv, No. 1, pp. 49-52.

³⁸ Information supplied by Dr. Max Yergan.

³⁹ *National Negro Congress News*, releases of May 25, June 20, and August 11, 1941.

The name of Carter Glass, United States Senator from Virginia, appears on the manifesto along with that of James H. Hubert, secretary of the New York Urban League.

Some white organizations, such as Friends of Democracy, Inc., combine propaganda with their other efforts at ameliorating the lot of the Negro. This group has reported plans to issue two pamphlets for wide distribution. One aims to show the Negroes themselves that their position in democracy, despite its disadvantages, is superior to what it would be under a dictatorship. The other pamphlet is to persuade employers and public officials to hire Negroes, outlining their contribution to American civilization.

The White Foundations

Such organizations as the Federal Council of Churches have long published factual material for the improvement of race relations. Several large foundations conduct an effective propaganda work even though it is not so labelled. The Rosenwald, Rockefeller and Phelps-Stokes foundations spend large sums annually on Negro health and education, which have the long-time effect of enhancing the race in the eyes of the white population. They also bring whites into close working contact with Negroes on a cooperative basis.

The Communists carry on an active propaganda among Negroes and have nominated a Negro for Vice President in recent national elections. Their propaganda since the Russo-German pact appears to have been a compromise between the exigencies of the party line internationally and the necessities of the situation in this country. Before the Soviet Union was invaded by Germany the theme was that the "Negro People Want Peace" and Negro leaders such as A. Philip Randolph and Walter White were taunted for ineffectiveness in not preventing the Army from continuing its policy of segregating Negroes in separate units.

After the attack on Soviet Russia the appeal changed. The Communist Party now takes some credit for the President's executive order, issued when the "March on Washington" was threatened. It has sought to implement this order by agitation. Communist leaders claim that trade unions aided by them have brought pressure on manufacturers to carry out this policy. In

general the Communist attitude, as expressed by prominent persons in the party, is to regard the Negroes as part of the working class or as an ally of the working class. Their theme is that democracy is denied to the Negro, even more than to the working class as a whole, through segregation and economic discrimination.

The official Communist explanation of the change of front toward war after the attack on Russia is that there was a spontaneous shift of the Negro people themselves. In the beginning of the war the Negro had no sympathy for an "imperialist war" between England, the plunderer of India, and Germany, the exponent of white superiority. Now, however, the Negroes have realized, according to this explanation, that the character of the war has been totally changed by the threat to the Soviet Union and that all free peoples and all people who wish freedom must stick together.⁴²

Despite an economic appeal not unlike that of more successful Negro propaganda groups, the Communists do not seem to have made much headway among the Negro masses. The party officials are reticent about the number of Negro members they have, though they claim that about 25 per cent of the recruits to the "Free Browder" movement are Negroes. Non-Communist Negro leaders estimate that the Communist strength reached a peak of about 2,000 Negro members before 1938 and has declined since.

Anti-Semitism Among Negroes

Anti-Semitism forms a minor eddy in the main current of propaganda among Negroes. It is reported chiefly from large cities such as Chicago, New York, Cleveland and Columbus. The antagonism, where it occurs, is directed against Jewish merchants, often found in large numbers in colored sections of a city, or against Jewish householders employing colored domestic servants. Unimportant though such a movement may be at present, it offers an opportunity to those interested in promoting divisions among the American people.

Propaganda glorifying the black race and calling for "race purity" and Pan-Africanism is being carried on actively in New York's Harlem section.

⁴² James W. Ford, "The Negro People and the New World Situation," *The Communist*, August, 1941, p. 696.

The Friends of Democracy report that every night six or more "mass" meetings are held there with audiences varying from 50 to 300, in which such propaganda is poured forth. Similar conditions, the organization reports, prevail in Negro communities in many parts of the country. At least two magazines carry the message, *The Street Speaker*, looking like a poorly done high school journal, and *Negro Youth*, which somewhat resembles the old *Police Gazette* and other barber shop literature.

Street Speaker carries this call under its masthead:

AN APPEAL TO REASON

To the Negro Consumers of Harlem and Other Negro Communities:

Every time you pass by a Negro store to trade with some one else you help to make your sons and daughters to join the ranks of prostitution, vice, and crime.⁴³

"Racial Purity" and the War

In a column in the same issue entitled "The Sphinx Smiles," written by Capt. Thomas Parks, Military Analyst (sic) of the magazine and whose picture complete with showy uniform appears at the top of the column, an anti-war bias is revealed:

England fails again: The British have once more been blitz from Continental Europe. After 21 days, the Germans occupied Athens. Once more, British help was just a helpless gesture, to pull wool over a confused world. Eight leaders are prisoners or exiled, for listening to Churchill's infamous falsehood.

The writer continues with the prediction that the United States will enter the war and will face difficulties as an unprepared nation in opposing Germany. It declares, "Africa will settle this mighty struggle."

Negro Youth, edited and written by Samuel W. Daniels, who refers to himself as the Coordinator of the Pan-African Republics, compares in scurrility with *Der Stürmer*, the most extreme Nazi paper in Germany, though obviously lacking the financial resources of its German counterpart. As in *Der Stürmer*, race purity is advocated with many titillating innuendoes about race mixture. One article is headed, "Mulattoes—An Insult to Black People." An editorial reads in part:

Only degenerate swine would advocate the integration of our race among white people. . . . The "colored" "Negro" and mulatto men and women and organizations who lead such movements, are without honor and pride. They are begging cringing fools, cowards and skunks. [In a later passage Walter White is referred to as "the

⁴³ *Street Speaker*, June, 1941, p. 1.

chief skunk and stooge of the white ruling class."] Instead of leading black people to build their own industry and acquire their own land and an independent nation, they have sought to destroy black people through race mixing.⁴⁴

The May, 1941, issue carries on its cover a picture of a handsome Negro girl in scanty dancer's attire and numerous mottos, such as "Africa for the Africans At Home and Abroad."

It is easy to dismiss such movements as unimportant, but that in New York is sufficiently large to draw the United States Senator from Mississippi, Theodore G. Bilbo, as a speaker. He was scheduled to speak at the Elks Auditorium in Harlem on August 17, 1941, under the auspices of the Universal Negro Movement Association, but vigorous efforts by many Negro and white organizations succeeded in stopping him.

The date of the meeting was the birthday anniversary of the late Marcus Garvey, founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, who led the Pan-Africanism movement before and through the last war. At its peak, Garvey claimed 1,000,000 members throughout the world, and conservative Negro leaders concede that he may have had 500,000. The "Advanced Division," which is active today, claims to have broken with the old Garvey leadership, but the principles remain much the same.

Amalgamation or Isolation?

There are two courses of action open to Negroes today, as James Weldon Johnson pointed out. He can seek to achieve the privileges of being white, amalgamate himself with the whites, and eventually disappear as a distinct racial group; or he can withdraw into himself, stressing the virtues of being black, and accepting isolation from American society. By far the greater majority seek membership in the larger American community and endeavor through propaganda and other devices to tear down the barriers that separate Negro from white.⁴⁵ There has long been a minority such as the Garveyites and their off-shoots who have retreated into themselves and glorified their membership in the black race. Its growth or decline probably depends on how much of the discrimination that keeps him in the bot-

⁴⁴ *Negro Youth*, August, 1941, pp. 1, 6, 7.

⁴⁵ James Weldon Johnson, *Negro Americans, What Now?* (Viking, New York, 1934), p. 12.

tom place in the Army, Navy, and industry, the Negro succeeds in throwing off.

It is revealing to review the progress made by Negroes during the past war and the years following. Though the race remains the biggest question mark on our claims to democracy, the picture is encouraging. The period 1914-1918 saw a great northward trek of the Negro and his entrance into industry as a result of the war boom and the cessation of immigration.⁴⁶ Though race relations were often badly strained in communities receiving a sudden influx of Negroes, the Negroes were relatively well treated in Northern industry. Furthermore Southerners were forced to give the Negroes better treatment in order to keep them from deserting the land and following the lure of higher wages and diminished race prejudice.⁴⁷

The Power of Votes

Important political changes resulted from the migration. In the North the Negroes were free to vote for the first time. Since they tended to concentrate in special areas such as Harlem and the Chicago South Side they were able to use their power effectively. No politician dared ignore the Negro vote, for they soon abandoned the habit of voting blindly for the Republican party. They won a number of representatives in state legislatures, and now have a Negro in the House of Representatives.

As a result of their increased political power in the North, they were able to command better educational facilities. In 1930 the Negro illiteracy rate was 4.7% in the North and 3.3% in the West compared with 19.7% in the South.⁴⁸ The Negro rate for illiteracy throughout the country has declined, dropping from 22.9% in 1920 to 16.3% in 1930.⁴⁹ Likewise their health has improved and their death rate declined,⁵⁰ though they are still at a disadvantage com-

pared to the whites, due to their inferior economic position.

Though the Negroes suffered more in the depression than did the whites, and though the relief rate for Negroes is higher than for whites throughout the country,⁵¹ it is safe to say that they have enjoyed a net gain since the last war. This is mainly due to the northward migration.

There are certain differences between conditions at the time of the last war and those today. The United States began the last war with a demand for factory labor, while at the beginning of this one the WPA and other unemployment measures occupied public attention almost as much as the menacing clouds of the international situation. There has been more slack to take up before the demand for labor reached the Negroes. In fact it has only just begun to reach them.

During the last war the Negro pressure groups such as the NAACP and the National Urban League made their greatest strides. It is very likely that such organizations will be able to capitalize on the situation once more. We may confidently expect a marked increase in propaganda from all organizations interested in Negro welfare, and that Negroes will come more and more into the public eye.

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⁵¹ Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁴⁶ The Institute is indebted to Professor Maurice R. Davie, author of a forthcoming book on the Negro, for much of the information on migration and its effects.

⁴⁷ Thomas Jackson Wootter, Jr., *Negro Migration* (W. D. Gray, New York, 1920), p. 171.

⁴⁸ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States 1920-1932* (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1935), p. 229.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 230, Table 1.

⁵⁰ Louis I. Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka, *Twenty Five Years of Health Progress* (Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., 1937), p. 23; and S. J. Holmes, *The Negro's Struggle for Survival* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1937), p. 40, Table 3.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis announces that Professor Maurice Rea Davie, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Yale University, and Professor Peter H. Odegard, Dwight Morrow Professor of Political Science at Amherst College, have become members of the board. Barrington Moore, Jr., Ph.D., Yale 1941, has been made research assistant, and Miss Eleanor Flexner has assumed the duties of assistant to the executive director.

Propaganda Analysis Guide

MOST of the propaganda concerning the Negro is the result of his struggle to lessen discrimination against him in work and play. Try to describe this situation and analyze the propaganda that results from it in your own community. After observing whether or not Negroes are permitted to mingle with whites in parks, movie houses, restaurants and so forth, find out the employment policies of some of the local factories toward Negroes. Are Negroes hired in the community? If they are accepted, what is the relationship between them and their white fellow employees? Ask the personnel manager of a factory to give you this information. If they are not hired, try to find out the reasons. What is the official explanation given at the factory? Is it a propaganda answer, based on some unprovable assumption concerning Negroes, or is it based on actual experience?

Study carefully the propaganda efforts of the local Negro organizations to combat discrimination. The church, local branches of the NAACP, the National Urban League, and the National Negro Congress, as well as the effects of the Negro press should receive attention in

a complete study, though not all of these organizations may have branches in the community. An excellent project in propaganda analysis is to compare the treatment of some important event concerning Negroes in a white and a Negro paper.

Examine the records of speeches, resolutions passed, and activities undertaken by the various Negro organizations in order to see what it is that the Negro is most anxious to get in your community. Then notice what propaganda devices—Name-Calling, Card-Stacking, Transfer, and the rest—are used. Finally make an estimate of the effectiveness of the propaganda studied. Find out what groups in the community, such as the Chamber of Commerce or the local political leaders, are aware of this propaganda and whether or not these groups give sympathetic or unsympathetic attention. To what extent does this effectiveness depend on such characteristic psychological processes as Ethnocentrism, Reinforcement and Projection? Then notice what actions favorable or unfavorable to Negroes have been taken in the community during the past year and their relation to the propaganda just analyzed.

Propaganda Analysis

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A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

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Health and the Doctors

WHEN the United States called its young men to military service in the summer of 1940, it provided for the second time in twenty-three years a sampling of the health of a large section of its population. While the draft age limits were 21 to 35, the younger men have been called mostly, so the sample has tended to be restricted to men between the years of 21 and 25, "the period," as the United States Public Health Service observed, "when physical health should be at its best."¹

The result is that Selective Service figures on the proportion of young men unfit for military service has aroused medical controversy. Some 43 per cent of the men examined for the draft this time have been found unfit for general military service.² In the last war about one-third of the draftees were found unfit.³

What do the statistics mean? The nature of the answer depends on whether it comes from an advocate of individualism in medical care or from an advocate of some modification such as group health plans or compulsory health insurance. The medical profession and much of the public is split between these points of view today. The American Association for Social Security, advocate of compulsory, tax-assisted health insurance, declared that "Defective Health Hampers National Defense," and used the news to point the moral for health insur-

ance.⁴ Both its publication and *Medical Care*, a middle-of-the-road journal of discussion in which advocates of voluntary group-medicine plans have a voice, quoted the statement of Brigadier General Lewis B. Hershey, Deputy Director of Selective Service, that the figures showed a "dangerous" condition:

We are physically in a condition of which we nationally should be thoroughly ashamed [he said]. It is a condition we should recognize as dangerous and which we should take immediate positive and vigorous measures to correct.⁵

To the individualist in doctor-patient relations, on the other hand, the figures do not seem alarming. This point of view is the official one of the American Medical Association. Its *Journal* said of the figures:

Although the current rate of disqualification . . . is greater than that observed during most of the World War period, one is not justified in concluding that the health of American youth of today is inferior to that of young men of a quarter of a century ago. . . . An official release from the War Department points out that the examiners of 1917 . . . were trying to build an army as fast as possible. . . . Thousands of men were accepted in 1917 who would have been rejected by present day examiners. Furthermore, the War Department says that the advancement in medical science gives the present day examiners a decided advantage over medical men of twenty years ago.⁶

The debate over the draft figures is part of the propaganda struggle being waged over the future of medical care. The issue is, Who is to control medical service, the individual doctor, an organized group of patients or a system in which a governmental agency has a voice? In many other spheres, notably in industry, the

¹ U. S. Public Health Service, *Public Health Reports* May 9, 1941, p. 1018.

² R. H. Britten and G. S. Perrott, "Causes of Physical Disqualification Under the Selective Service Law: Early Indications," U. S. Public Health Service, *Public Health Reports*, May 9, 1941, p. 1017.

³ R. H. Britten and G. S. Perrott, "Summary of Physical Findings on Men Drafted in the World War," U. S. Public Health Service, *Public Health Reports*, January 10, 1941, p. 42.

⁴ *Social Security*, June, 1941, p. 1.

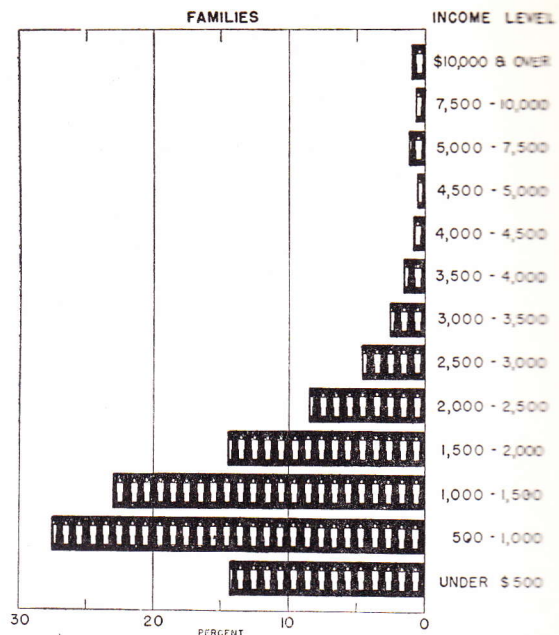
⁵ Brigadier General Lewis B. Hershey, speech on May 27, 1941.

⁶ *Journal of the American Medical Association*, July 12, 1941, p. 114.

trend is away from a system of relationships between individuals toward one in which organizations such as trade unions deal with corporations or employer groups. As in industry, there are groups who suffer and those who profit by the change. And as in industry, both sides issue propaganda to enlist the support of the public for and against change. Today, various groups of medical men and women and their allies are trying to win the public, urging it to adopt, or refuse to adopt, new methods of service; or support different kinds of legislation. The present Bulletin analyzes the rival propagandas.

Illnesses and Incomes

Before turning to the propagandas, let us first glance at the actual health situation. The basic fact is that, broadly speaking, health varies according to income. The National Health Survey found that a person on relief was disabled by sickness almost three times as long each year as a person with an income



Our Family Income Levels

The bars show the percentages of families in the United States in the various brackets. Each figure symbol represents 1 per cent of all families, or 294,000 families. The chart, based on a study for 1935-36, appears in the report of President Roosevelt's National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States*, p. 3.

of \$3000 or over. In fact, in the lower income brackets there is a strikingly close relation between income and number of days of illness. Here are the figures:⁷

Income	Days of illness per person per year
Relief	17.4
Not on relief, under \$1000	10.9
\$1000-\$1500	7.9
\$1500-\$2000	7.0
\$2000-\$3000	6.9
\$3000-\$5000	6.5
\$5000 and over	6.5

How the Incomes Fall

This means that the great majority of the population have the larger amounts of sickness since most of them are at the lower income levels. The latest study of income levels, that of the National Resources Committee in 1935 and 1936, showed that 46.54 per cent of

⁷ "Disability from Specific Causes in Relation to Economic Status," Preliminary Reports, National Health Survey *Bulletin* (National Institute of Health, Washington, 1938), No. 9, p. 1.

Propaganda Analysis

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the population had incomes under \$1000. Just under 7 per cent had incomes of \$3000 and over. The figures for various levels are:⁸

Income	Per cent of population
Under \$1000	46.54
\$1000-\$1500	22.14
\$1500-\$2000	13.14
\$2000-\$3000	11.24
\$3000 and over	6.94

The reasons for the greater amount of sickness at the lower income levels have not been definitely established. Poverty helps to cause a certain amount of sickness. Poor housing, poor nutrition, and poor education all are associated with low incomes. Even in an individual case it is difficult if not impossible to determine which of these is the underlying cause, since all operate and are found together.

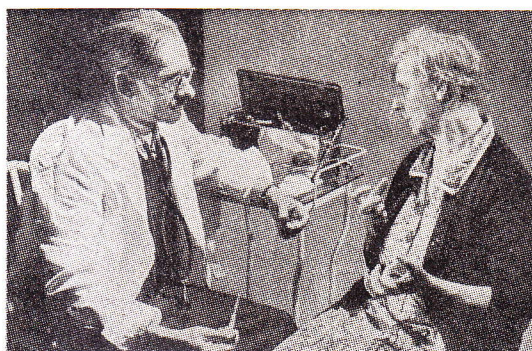
The Money Spent for Care

The majority of people who become seriously sick get a doctor if one is within reach and worry about the bill afterward. This is true at all income levels down to around \$800 a year. People in income levels below that get some free medical care on a charity basis and can go to free clinics—which are available in the larger cities—if they can make the trip. They are also aided by the visiting nurse services, which are used mainly by this group. Clinics and free hospital care have given rise, however, to the widespread misapprehension that the lowest third of the population in income level receive most of their medical care free. This is not true. They spend sums that represent a bigger piece out of their incomes than the very much larger amounts spent at higher income levels.⁹

This was shown by the National Resources Committee, which found that the burden of medical expenses, including costs of medicine as well as doctors' fees, fell most heavily on the lowest income group. Those with incomes up to \$500 a year spent just over 5 per cent of them for medical needs. Above this level, up to the \$3000 income group, the amount of payments for medical care averaged almost

⁸ Condensed from table of National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States* (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938), p. 6.

⁹ Michael M. Davis, *America Organizes Medicine* (Harper, New York, 1941), p. 49.



Make it snappy, Sister!

This doctor can't sit listening to your tale of woe. He's not a private physician.

He works for the government, not you. You're just one of the people assigned to him by the political overseer. Ten more of you are in the waiting room, with probably twenty or thirty to come.

You can't expect time and sympathy under conditions like that.

So snap into it, comrade! Briefly, now what seems to be the trouble?

That's socialized medicine, run by politicians based on quantity, not

quality, and paid for by payroll taxes. It is the thing you can expect here in the next few years unless the people wake up and stop it.

Compare it with the traditional American system of private medicine, in which the individual freely selects and consults the doctor in an atmosphere of intimate and friendly confidence, and pays him directly.

Private medicine has done a magnificent work in the United States. Our average life expectancy is now the highest in the world. The death rate has fallen in 100 years from 27 to 11.2 per 1,000. Serious diseases are under increasing

control. Infant and maternal mortality rates are lower than ever before.

But this does not interest the group that wants to set up socialized medicine in part of the collective scheme. Law after law is presented to the U. S. Congress and State Assemblies to put the relations between doctors and patients under political control.

United Americans want to sign up for all time they should reject these Compulsory Government Health Insurance legislative proposals flatly, without delay.

This message is published by

NATION'S BUSINESS

It is the kind of a wire connected to a home understanding of free American enterprise. Regardless of your political affiliation, if you have a grain of sense you would like to support our free enterprise now dying in the field of public policy relative to the medical profession. Why not write our own Congressmen and Senators?

This is a reprint of an advertisement that appeared in the New York Times.

"... Run by Politicians"

The United States Chamber of Commerce pushes the campaign of the American Medical Association against governmental participation in medical care. This advertisement, predicting how doctors would treat patients under "socialized medicine," was inserted in the New York Times by *Nation's Business*, the organ of the Chamber. The original occupied a page.

uniformly 4 per cent a year. In the upper brackets, the percentage falls off, being 2.1 per cent a year at \$20,000.

Illness Strikes Unevenly

Of course the cash outlays represented by these percentages vary enormously. Five per cent of an income of \$500 is only \$25, while 4 per cent of \$3000 is \$120. Also, these figures are averages, and therefore do not show the whole picture. The people who have to spend more than the average for a sudden serious illness are the ones that represent the greatest problem to the doctors, to themselves and in extreme cases to the communities. The expenditures at the various income levels actually fall very unevenly on different individuals. A study carried out by the Department of Agriculture reports that the average medical expenditure of the income level \$500-749 in the Middle Atlantic States was \$33. At this level three quarters of the families bore only slightly more than one fourth of the group's total

burden of medical bills. Three per cent of the persons at this level had expenditures of \$200 or more.¹⁰

The total health bill of the country in the latest year studied—1935-6—was \$2,856,000,000. Most of this expenditure—77 per cent—was paid by individuals for actual medical care. Eighteen per cent, or \$516,000,000, according to the National Resources Committee, went into the preventive work of various governmental agencies.¹¹ These agencies now are responsible for fairly extensive activities. They take care of sanitation of water, milk, and food supplies, immunization against diphtheria and smallpox and supervision over acute communicable diseases. All these activities, it is recognized, have to be carried out by the whole community or they are not effective. Therefore they are turned over to some government agency.

Foundations Bring New Views

Further aid in preventive work comes from the foundations and from industrial sources. Together their contributions in 1935-1936 amounted to \$135,000,000 or 5 per cent of all expenditures on health according to the National Resources Committee. But their importance is far greater than these figures indicate. The role of the foundations has been that of the trail blazer. With their great resources they have been able to experiment in new methods of public health where the regular tax-supported agencies have been without sufficient funds.¹² They have given large funds to medical education and medical research, and thus are responsible for many new discoveries. Finally they have been pathfinders in financing research projects, such as the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, into the amount and quality of medical service available to the American people today. From their voluminous reports critics have drawn most of their factual material for the attack on fee-for-service medicine.

¹⁰ *Family Expenditures for Medical Care: Five Regions, Consumer Purchases Study*. Miscellaneous Publication No. 402. U. S. Department of Agriculture in cooperation with Works Progress Administration, p. 8.

¹¹ National Resources Committee, *Consumer Expenditures in the United States*, p. 66.

¹² For an example of this type of work see the report of the Milbank Memorial Fund by Charles Edward Amory Winslow and Savel Zimand, *Health Under the El* (Harper Bros., New York, 1937).

The health situation causes enough distress to enough people to bring about the growth of a considerable movement to change it. The present system of medical care, besides presenting a gloomy outlook to much of the population, limits the size of the field in which doctors can practice with the hope of obtaining a living income. On the other hand, it is the traditional system. Any fundamental change would involve numerous readjustments for doctors and citizens. Intervention by government agencies to secure greater distribution of medical care would involve increases in taxes. It would also involve increased participation by non-medical administrators, in which politics would probably play some part, however restricted. Thus government intervention would represent an invasion of a field in which doctors, selected under conditions determined by their own group, now have almost complete control. The movement for change and the efforts to prevent change are colliding with considerable heat.

The champions of voluntary group medical practice, in conducting their propaganda, face the double problem of convincing the bulk of the medical profession and of persuading the general public to enroll in and support their plans. The big problem is to overcome the natural antipathy to newness, the preference for the established custom. This preference for established custom expresses itself in the sharp opposition to group medical practice displayed by the American Medical Association, which will be discussed later.

Attack on Present Methods

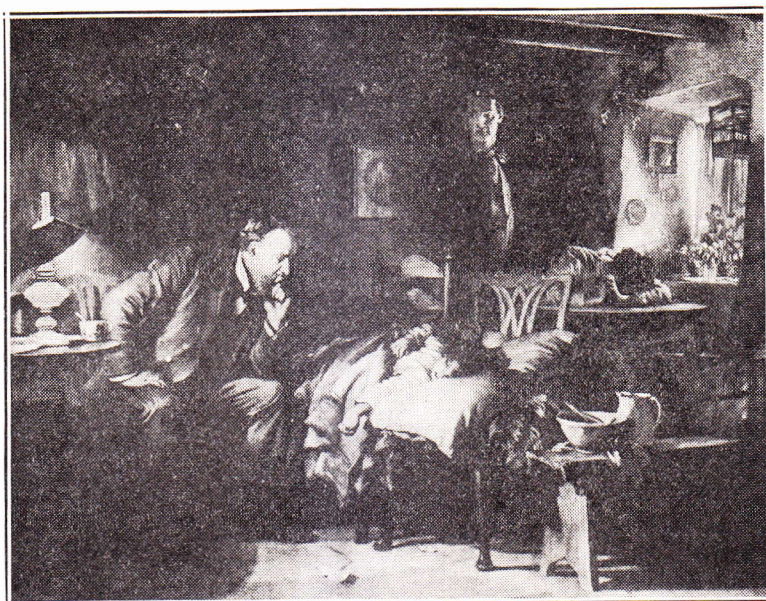
Much of the propaganda for voluntary group schemes is made out of what their advocates consider faults in the present system. They deny that this system, under which a large segment of the population depends on charity and free clinics, gives the best possible service. Dr. Kingsley Roberts, the leading spokesman for the voluntary plans, says:

No one would suggest that it would be more economical to give up the school system and let wealthy people hire tutors who in their off time would give free education to the poor. But that is exactly what we are doing in medical care.¹³

¹³ Kingsley Roberts, M.D., "Health Programs Which can be Developed Without New Federal Legislation," *National Conference of Social Work*, 1940.

... Reprinted and
Widely Distributed

Luke Field's famous painting, *The Doctor*, finds a new duty. It portrays "the little man with the black bag," the idea stereotype being used by the American Medical Association to create opposition to proposals for changing the system of medical care. As one to whom people turn in moments of great anxiety, the doctor has unusual prestige, and the AMA propagandists seek to transfer this prestige to their cause. See page 11, column 1.



Dr. Roberts is Director of the Bureau of Cooperative Medicine, Inc., which has lately changed its name to Medical Administration Service. Dr. Roberts believes that present medical system is "hit-or-miss. It neglects modern scientific methods and diagnostic facilities. It is poor medicine. It keeps bills low but it is expensive in the long run."

To support his accusation he cites an instance that occurred several years ago when a number of doctors in five states were asked "twenty-nine simple questions based upon modern medical science. Forty-two per cent answered incorrectly," he says, "and the ability to answer correctly fell in proportion to the number of years out of medical school."

The same piece of literature, *Medical Cooperatives*, written by Dr. Roberts and issued by his organization, cites the fact that

a report of the Committee on Maternal Mortality of the New York Academy of Medicine states that 61 per cent of preventable maternal deaths occurred because of the negligence of physicians.¹⁴

As evidence of the practicality of the idea and to eliminate the stigma of newness, the group health advocates cite the fact that group medical plans with a total membership estimated at somewhere between 3 and 5 million persons¹⁵ are in operation today. One of the most effective pieces of literature put out by

¹⁴ Dr. Roberts' article is a reprint from *Health and Hygiene*.

¹⁵ Estimate by Dr. Kingsley Roberts to Institute interviewer.

group advocates has been the booklet, *New Plans of Medical Service*, published by the Bureau of Cooperative Medicine. It describes simply and factually thirty representative group plans now in operation, chosen from all parts of the United States and Canada.

The Ross-Loos Medical Group in Los Angeles is probably the best known. It is described in the booklet as having a staff of 69 full-time physicians. It occupies a four-story building and has ten branches in outlying districts of the city. It has 21,000 employed subscribers, representing more than 110 different groups of persons, who with their families total 60,000 individuals. Medical and surgical treatment of all kinds are provided, with house as well as office calls. The charges are \$2.50 a month apiece for the employees in a single office and \$3 for individual subscribers. Dependents of the subscribers may obtain service at fees of 50 cents for an office call and \$1 for a house call, and other charges ranging up to \$25 for a major operation. Arrangement between the clinics and groups of employed subscribers are made by committees representing the subscribers, and complaints are also adjusted through these committees. The Group is owned by a co-partnership of eighteen doctors.¹⁶

This group has had much experience in working out the details of personal relations which such plans involve. One of its heads,

¹⁶ *New Plans of Medical Service* (Bureau of Cooperative Medicine, New York, 1940), pp. 59-60.

Dr. H. Clifford Loos, has described one abuse of the original plan of free house visits. The doctor, he said, would go to a home in response to a request and find a note on the door, "Doctor—If you will open the door, there is a specimen of urine I want analyzed." The patient would be out shopping. By charging \$1 for home visits, Dr. Loos said, the calls continued but the abuses were stopped.¹⁷

The employees of a single company make a convenient unit for group medical plans and in many instances have been the initiators, as is shown in the booklet *New Plans of Medical Service*. The companies aid in such ways as checking off the dues from the pay of employee subscribers and turning the money over in a lump sum to the medical group. Such a plan has been in operation since 1924 at Baton Rouge, La., among 3000 employees of the Standard Oil Company of Louisiana.¹⁸

Probably the best known union group plan, also described in the booklet, is the Union Health Center, maintained by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. This center, in New York City, has had close to 100,000 visits from members in a year. It has fourteen departments in fields ranging from internal medicine, diseases of women, diseases of eye, ear, nose and throat; rheumatic and arthritic conditions, venereal diseases, and so on down to the care of asthma and hay fever.

Who Controls the Doctor?

As one effort to stimulate the organization of group medical plans, particularly by unions, Dr. Roberts' organization in 1939 made an investigation of the company-controlled arrangements for medical care in the coal mining regions of southern West Virginia and adjacent states, which described sensationally bad conditions. The organization made this report at the invitation of the officers of the United Mine Workers of America, and the study was financed by a joint committee of the Good Will Fund and the Twentieth Century Fund. The report charged that although the mine workers supported the system through com-

¹⁷ *Summary of Technical Papers Presented at the First Annual Convention of Group Health Plans* (Bureau of Cooperative Medicine, New York, 1939), section on "Enrollment Procedures: Group Hospitalization Experience," p. 5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-6.

NEW YORK STATE COMMUNIST PARTY

ELECTION PLATFORM

●

I. Maintain and Extend the Rights of Labor
Constitutional guarantees (modeled after Goetrad proposal) and strict enforcement of legislation recognizing the right of collective bargaining culminating in a written agreement, right to strike and picket, right to jury trial in labor cases, and prohibition of anti-labor injunctions. Ratify the Child Labor Amendment. Extend Minimum Wage Law to all workers and establish thirty-hour work week with no reduction in pay. Extend workmen's compensation law to include domestic and agricultural workers.

II. For Jobs, Relief and Security
Amend Public Welfare Law to make cash relief mandatory throughout the state; increase state's contribution to municipalities for relief from 40 to 60 per cent; set state-wide minimum relief standard based on cost of living; provide for trade union representation on State Board of Social Welfare. Amend State Unemployment Insurance System to include all workers, with increased grants extending throughout period of unemployment. For increased state contributions for mothers' pensions, old age relief, the blind, and the handicapped. For state appropriations to expand WPA.

III. Save Farmers from Monopoly Control and Robbery
For milk control legislation modeled after McElroy-Young Bill providing for democratic organization and collective bargaining rights of farmers without dealer interference; guaranteeing minimum price to farmers based on cost of production and abolishing classification system.

IV. Protect and Improve Health of the People
Through a state-wide system of compulsory health insurance equal to two-thirds of wages with no contributions by workers in low income groups (modeled after Wagner Bill). Expansion of medical service to provide free medical, hospital, dental and nursing care to all with incomes under \$2,500 a year (modeled after De Matteo Bill). A state-wide system of rural health centers with hospital and clinical facilities. Provide for increased state appropriations for maternal and infant care, tuberculosis, venereal and mental disease cases.

V. Housing
Broaden Minkoff Rent Control Law to prevent rent increases and evictions of all low-income families. A comprehensive state and local slum clearance and low rent housing construction program, with subsidies to keep monthly rentals at a maximum of \$5 a room. Tax exemption on first \$2,500 on homes worth up to \$7,500. Extend moratorium to prevent foreclosures on small homes for non-payment of interest over 3 per cent and abolish deficiency judgments.

[153]

An Attack by Name-calling

The fact that the Communists support "socialized medicine" becomes a propaganda weapon against the idea for the New York Medical Society. This picture is used to illustrate one of the articles distributed by the Society.

pany check-offs on their pay, the doctors were completely subservient to the companies and rendered a low quality of service. For example the report describes as typical the case of a doctor called upon to examine the body of a man who had died while working on a slack dump. To the doctor it appeared that the man had died of carbon monoxide poisoning. Before the autopsy could be begun, the manager of the company store appeared, and suggested that the man had died of indigestion and asked the doctor to fill out a death certificate at once with indigestion as the cause. When the doctor refused, the company summoned another physician, who put down heart failure as the cause of death.¹⁹

The trouble apparently lay in the fact that the doctors were engaged by one set of persons to treat another set. As a remedy the report proposed that the workers set up their own health association. The latest United Mine

¹⁹ *Medical Care in Selected Areas of the Appalachian Bituminous Coal Fields* (Bureau of Cooperative Medicine, New York, 1939), pp. 8-9.

Workers contract with the companies, however, has a clause giving the workers a voice in the control of the existing service. It is too early yet to see how the plan is working out.

A main propaganda theme of group medicine advocates is the possibility of changing the emphasis from curative to preventive medicine. Preventive work, it is contended, will improve the health of the subscriber and bring down the cost of medical care. The present fee-for-service system, Dr. Roberts points out, is a carryover from the days before preventive and control measures were available.

With diseases and conditions that can be prevented or benefited in incipient stages, [he says] the fee system presents an economic barrier against the receipt of care at the most favorable period.²⁰

Possibilities of Prevention

The stress on the prevention possibilities enables the group health advocates to appeal effectively to industrial concerns worried by the costs of employe absences due to illness. As evidence the experience of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power with a group health project is cited. Of this, one of the division supervisors of the department wrote:

In public personnel administration, we are of course interested in the health of our personnel. We have found, by checking our time roll and retirement records, that since the institution of this health protection plan (Ross-Loos Medical Group) the time lost due to sickness has dropped more than 25 per cent, which in turn means a definite saving to the taxpayer and the consumers of our public utility.²¹

This apparently is a not untypical experience in industry. The National Association of Manufacturers reports that even the much more limited accident prevention and hygienic programs maintained by many of its member companies, and which it studied in a recent survey, were considered by almost all companies using them to be "a paying proposition."²² The Industrial Hygiene Foundation at the Mellon Institute in Pittsburgh is studying the problem of reducing the "absenteeism" due to illness. Working in collaboration with the United States Public Health Service, it has

estimated that the 15,000,000 workers in heavy industry alone lose an average of eight working days a year due to illness, with a resultant loss not only in wages but in general industrial efficiency.²³ So the group medicine advocates, in stressing preventive medicine, are associating their movement with an increasingly popular trend.

A new effort to accustom the country to the group medicine idea was begun in 1940 when the numerous voluntary service plans formed a national body, the Group Health Federation of America. Besides seeking to be a clearing agency for the exchange of information concerning the various plans, the Federation maintains a series of requirements to which group medical plans must conform to be accredited. These are designed to assure the soundness of member groups and thus win a favorable reputation for the movement with the public.

The Federation has published a *Public Relations Guide*, prepared by Alexander L. Crosby, to assist the member groups to bring their work favorably to the attention of the public, particularly through newspaper and radio publicity. The *Guide* devotes considerable space to the general problems of public relations for professional organizations. It advises the hiring of a newspaperman to handle all relations with the public, whenever the plan can afford the expense. The *Guide* also gives the local directors advice on how to tackle newspaper editors and radio station managers, stressing the importance of cordial personal relations. In several passages it points out that a restrained policy is the most successful in the long run and that a "publicity hound" usually defeats his own purpose.

With little money to spend, the Federation uses a minimum of propaganda devices in its promotional literature. It addresses itself more to administrators of group plans and persons intending to form plans than to the public.

A Journal for an Idea

In January 1941 a new vehicle was started for discussion of medical care in which advocates of new ideas could meet on equal terms

²⁰ Kingsley Roberts, M.D., in "Medical Cooperatives," *Health and Hygiene*, reprint.

²¹ Kingsley Roberts, M.D., and Martin W. Brown, "Meeting the Problem of Absenteeism Due to Illness," *Quarterly Journal of the Society for the Advancement of Management*, April-June, 1941, p. 1.

²² National Association of Manufacturers, *Industrial Health Practices*, a booklet (New York, 1941), p. 14.

²³ *Foundation Facts*, Bulletin of the Industrial Hygiene Foundation, Mellon Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa., July, 1941.

with defenders of the old. This is the quarterly journal, *Medical Care*, launched under the auspices of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics, Inc. While the journal is edited as a forum and obtains discussions from all points of view, its existence focuses attention on the central point of the reform advocates, namely that the "economic and social aspects of health service" should be considered as well as the purely professional aspects. The Committee on Research in Medical Economics, whose chairman is Michael M. Davis, is supported by the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

This journal, of which Mr. Davis is editor, has made customary use of the propaganda device of *transfer*, enlisting forty-three men and women of eminence in social and economic as well as medical and allied fields as a body of editorial advisers. They include Professor Henry E. Sigerist of Johns Hopkins University, Professor Walton H. Hamilton of Yale University, Dr. Hugh Cabot of Boston, formerly chief consulting surgeon of the Mayo Clinic; Louis I. Dublin, statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; Professor William F. Ogburn of the University of Chicago; C. Rufus Roem, Director of the Commission on Hospital Service of the American Hospital Association; and Miss Helen Hall of the Henry Street Settlement. The presence of such persons not only promises that the journal will have a broadly representative and authoritative viewpoint; it also *transfers* some of their prestige to the journal and assures it of respectful attention from the start.

Government Insurance?

The second main line of reform being proposed in the health sphere is for some kind of governmental assistance, the outstanding proposal being for compulsory government-aided health insurance in the lower income brackets. This insurance plan is put forward with the argument that no person earning less than \$30 a week can budget for the hazards of illness. All major countries in the world now have compulsory health insurance except, it is also pointed out, India, China, and the United States.

The American Association for Social Security, which led the fight for a social security law, is the leading advocate for such insurance, but the idea has received the support of the Con-

gress of Industrial Organizations. The American Federation of Labor called, in a resolution adopted in 1940, for "a comprehensive national health program . . . which will provide the necessary care at costs which can reasonably be borne by those . . . who cannot afford adequate medical care under a private fee system." The resolution added: "The health of the nation is the concern of all citizens." The National Health Conference, arranged by President Roosevelt in 1938, indicated the need of, although it did not specifically endorse, compulsory health insurance.

Steps in Insurance Campaign

The Association for Social Security has written a model health insurance bill based on the principle of contributions by the Government, the employe and the employer and providing cash benefits during illness, varying according to the worker's pay and number of dependents. Each employer would contribute 40 cents a week; the employe's contribution would start at 10 cents a week for each employe earning less than \$15 a week and work in three steps up to 40 cents a week for employes earning \$25 a week and over; and the government's contribution would start at 60 cents for the under-\$15 group and work down to 40 cents for the \$25-and-over group. Cash benefits for temporary disability due to sickness would extend to a maximum of 26 weeks. They would range from \$6 to \$10.50 a week for workers with no dependents, and be graduated upward to \$16 for the worker with pay of \$25 or more and with three or more dependents. The bill also would provide extensive medical benefits, including medical care and hospitalization.

The Association has sought to win the support of the medical profession for the idea. Its bill would affect only workers with incomes of not more than \$1500 a year, a limitation introduced, the Association says, "in order not to disturb the incomes of the medical profession today." The bill provides that the fees for doctors under the scheme shall be left to local councils composed of representatives of the health professions, employers and workers, and that, as the Association emphasizes, *any practitioner may join the system. Any patient is free to choose his own doctor from any of the physicians who have agreed to serve the system.*²⁴

²⁴ *Social Security*, March, 1940, p. 7. Italics in Original.

This plan, the Association argues, will, if adopted, "bring to the medical profession a class of paying patients not in existence today."²⁵ At the same time its members have not hesitated to criticize the cardinal assumptions of the American Medical Association. Referring to the latter's contention that health insurance will destroy the patient's free choice of a doctor, Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, remarked:

I believe it is possible to develop a plan which will make it possible for a great many patients to exercise that right for the first time. The present trouble about free choice of a doctor is that so many people have neither a choice nor a doctor.²⁶

In promoting the idea of insurance the Association has been extremely handicapped by lack of funds. The June-July, 1941, issue of its eight-page publication, *Social Security*, carried an announcement that "Because of the continued financial difficulties of the Association, *Social Security* will not be published in August. The September-October issue will appear early in October." The Executive Secretary of the Association, Abraham Epstein, author of *Insecurity: A Challenge to America* and a leading organizer of the campaign for the Social Security Act, has worked mostly by bringing organizations such as unions, whose members would benefit by the law, and churches and civic bodies to espouse the cause.

The Campaign to Date

The Association has been critical of much of the support gained to date for health insurance. It regarded the National Health Conference, which promoted insurance, as a "highly artificial performance," and feels that the unions have not sufficiently pushed the proposal. Its own model bill, in the opinion of Mr. Epstein, has proved a boomerang in that it enabled the opponents to confuse the issues by attacking details rather than discussing principles. The Association opposed the 1939 "National Health Bill" introduced in Congress by Senator Wagner, on the ground that it made no provision for compulsory insurance. By helping only the very lowest income group, the Association argued, the bill ignored the mass of the wage earners with incomes

under \$2000. These, the Association pointed out, are "the largest group suffering from unmet medical needs."²⁷ Its own model bill has been introduced by Senator Capper of Kansas.

The AMA—How Solid Is It?

It can be seen from the foregoing that the organized medical profession, which is the American Medical Association, looms large in any discussion of national health. It is at the center of the swirling tide of forces for and against change. It remains to be seen whether in the Association's ninety-four years of existence it has become a rock strong enough to resist the tides, or whether it is only a sandbar which the waves can shift to a new formation.

Since the American Medical Association and its branches have considerable financial resources—the AMA has a net income of over \$600,000,²⁸ a year from its *Journal*, only part of which goes into the publication of scientific periodicals—very extensive literature is issued in support of its position, and the literature is made highly vivid by propaganda devices.

At present the AMA is a staunch defender of the traditional system. Its structure tends to make it so. The officers and Board of Trustees, who administer the Association, are, under its system of election, three steps away from the main body of the membership. The county medical societies, the basic units, elect delegates to the governing bodies of the state societies; these in turn elect delegates to the national House of Delegates, and this body, meeting once a year, elects the trustees and officers. This system is reminiscent of the old system of electing United States Senators in the state legislatures, a system originally introduced in the Federal Constitution to help make the Senate more conservative than the House. Under the AMA's system, the more prominent physicians, and thus the ones who have succeeded best under existing forms of practice, tend to be selected as the representatives of the profession. The Association thus comes into alliance, formal or informal, with the more conservative elements of the population. Its spokesmen join these elements in their condemnation of social measures that would increase taxes and "bureaucracy."

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Arthur J. Altmeyer, speech before the Tuberculosis and Health Association, New York, March 4, 1941.

²⁷ *Social Security*, April, 1939, p. 3.

²⁸ *Fortune Magazine*, November, 1938.

Until very recently the AMA has argued that there is no appreciable unmet medical need in the United States since doctors always base their charges on ability to pay and have always carried this policy to the point of rendering service free to those who need it.²⁹ It supports the argument by citing instances where its members have publicly offered free service to the needy and met little response:

Early in July, 1938 [said a recent pamphlet], through the press and radio the Medical Society of the State of New Jersey invited anyone in the state who was in need of medical care and unable to obtain it to apply to the executive offices of the Society. Up to October first, 127 requests were received. 127 out of a population of 4 million! A study of these requests by the officers of the society showed that even these applicants were not unable to obtain medical care but simply did not know how to go about obtaining it.³⁰

In 1939 the American Medical Association carried out a survey of medical care in the United States. The study was made through questionnaires filled out by physicians and dentists, supplemented by data from hospital administrators, health departments, welfare agencies, and other sources. Part of its conclusions read:

A careful examination of the reported facts and of the opinions expressed by those best qualified to judge seems to justify the conclusion that with the exception of isolated localities . . . there is no important section of the population of the United States that now fails to receive the medical care it needs and *desires*.³¹

Since many doctors, particularly the leading ones, do not in the course of their personal experience come across many unmet medical needs, and since they are willing to give service free of charge, they assume that no such need exists. It is an easy step to the next assumption, that people claiming there is such a need do so out of a desire to fill their own pockets at the expense of the taxpayer.

The Old Family Doctor Again

In opposing changes in the present individual fee-for-service system, the AMA has based its main campaign on the theme that the changes would end the present personal relationship between doctor and patient and so destroy the psychological value of the general

practitioner as guide, counsellor and friend. Along with this it has sought to associate with proposals for change the odium attached in this country to politics. One pamphlet, issued by the Medical Society of Pennsylvania, has the doctor take over the minister's role as well as his own to point its warning:

There is an art in comforting and assuaging the torturing pangs of a grief-torn soul; in being the tactful purveyor of sad, disastrous news to loved ones; in building up courage within those desperate individuals who, unfortunately, are forced by the exigencies of malignant disorders to go down into the depths of the valley of the shadow, their minds overwhelmed with the terrible fear that they may never return. . . .

This should not be passed off with a lofty condescending gesture, and disparagingly termed "selling a bedside manner." . . . Medical science is an intricate, highly complicated piece of mechanism, which has to be oiled by artful methods or it will squeak like the rusty hinges on an antiquated mausoleum—especially so if it ever is manipulated by a bunch of political bureaucrats.³²

Prestige Out of the Past

The American Medical Association sums up its idealized picture of the family doctor in the phrase, "the little man with the black bag." By this means it seeks to *transfer* to its cause the prestige and authority people have attached since tribal days to this member of the community, who effects cures as much through knowledge of psychological problems as through technical skill with physical ailments. In primitive society the medicine man was the person to whom people went in time of difficulty and anxiety to discover the cause of misfortune. He was the man to consult if a person had a headache, was unsuccessful in a love affair, or even if the crops did not grow. With his knowledge of village personalities and a slight practical knowledge of the operation of herbs, he effected cures, often with no medicine whatever, and developed enormous prestige as a man with powers far beyond those of the ordinary individual. Today for many individuals the mere arrival of the doctor means the end of anxiety. This fact, together with the scientific knowledge that the doctor possesses, and of which he is the sole dispenser, give him exceptional authority.

Thus if this idea stereotype of "the little man

²⁹ J. Weston Walch, *On the Witness Stand* (pamphlet issued by the Public Relations Bureau, Medical Society of the State of New York, 1939), p. 22.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³¹ *Medical Care in the United States—Demand and Supply*, Bureau of Medical Economics, American Medical Association, Chicago, 1939, p. 14. Italics in original.

³² Floyd Burrows, M.D. "Give the Doctor a Break," condensed from *New York State Journal of Medicine* for Public Relations Committee, The Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania (c. Medical Society of the State of New York), pp. 4, 5.

with the black bag" can be successfully associated with the American Medical Association's side of the medical controversy, the AMA can win much popular sympathy.

This *transfer* occurs in an article written by Dr. Charles Gordon Heyd, former president of the American Medical Association, for *America's Future*, at the time when the National Health Conference's advocacy of federal aid to the states to make medical service available to the entire population precipitated a controversy. *America's Future* is a publication conducted by Frank E. Gannett to attack the Roosevelt New Deal. Dr. Heyd's article, which has been reprinted and widely distributed, has at the top of the page Luke Field's picture of the bearded doctor sitting, chin in hand, beside a young patient with obviously distressed members of the family in the background. Over the picture in bold type appears the query: "DO YOU WANT YOUR OWN DOCTOR—OR A JOB HOLDER?" The article combines this appeal to common stereotypes with one to the American loyalty to democracy:

Compulsory health insurance is an implement of the totalitarian state, and it is not without interest that those nationalities which first succumbed to dictators are those which have had systems of compulsory health insurance the longest.³³

Dr. Heyd's linking of health insurance with dictatorship is not correct. Germany established compulsory health insurance in 1883, long before the advent of Hitler, and Italy, where Mussolini seized power in 1922, lacked health insurance in several of its provinces as late as 1933. England,³⁴ on the other hand, established health insurance in 1911, France in 1930 and Denmark in 1933.

AMA's Powerful Support

Government participation in health work has been a particular object of attack by the United States Chamber of Commerce, whose literature on the subject has been widely distributed by branches of the AMA. The Chamber's organ, *Nation's Business*, has printed a

³³ Dr. Charles Gordon Heyd, "Do You Want Your Own Doctor—Or a Job Holder?", *America's Future*, January, 1939, Reprint p. 1.

³⁴ Joseph L. Cohen, "Health Insurance," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. VII, p. 295; Abraham Epstein, *Insecurity: A Challenge to America*. (Smith & Haas, New York, 1933), p. 471.

series of articles, and has placed full-page advertisements in newspapers. *Health by Political Decree*, a pamphlet issued by *Nation's Business*, speaking of compulsory insurance, says:

Government health programs encourage hypochondriacs and spongers. Insured patients want all the service they can get. One comparison showed that four times as much was being spent for doctors' medicine for 35,000,000 insured as for 30,000,000 uninsured.

The reader is not told the source of this comparison, the economic level of the insured, nor whether the insured 35,000,000 were getting care they really needed while the 30,000,000 uninsured were neglected.

Chamber of Commerce Version

A full-page advertisement inserted by *Nation's Business* in the *New York Times*, pictures the heedless care that would supposedly be given patients if the Government were responsible. Under a picture of a doctor about to care for a woman, one reads:

MAKE IT SNAPPY, SISTER!

This doctor can't sit listening to your tale of woe. He's not a private physician. He works for the government, not you. . . . You can't expect time and sympathy under conditions like that. So snap into it, comrade! Briefly, now, what seems to be the trouble?

The advertisement then praises private medicine and its "magnificent work."

Our average life expectancy is now the highest in the world. The death rate has fallen in 100 years from 27 to 11.2 per 1,000. Serious diseases are under increasing control.

In its own columns *Nation's Business* dismisses the claims that private medicine costs too much by printing a picture of a stout man clearly on the point of enjoying a heavy meal, and captioning it:

Rich foods and extravagant surroundings are far more fatal to the nation's health than inability to obtain a physician's care.³⁵

Leaders in the AMA deny the implication in some criticisms that they lack a sense of responsibility to the community. They point with pride, as did the president of the New York State Medical Society, Dr. Samuel J. Kopetzky, to the readiness of the profession "to do our part of the program to defend our country . . . to save the 'American way of life.'"³⁶

The physicians, Dr. Kopetzky pointed out,

³⁵ "The Case for Private Medicine," *Nation's Business*, May 1940, p. 43.

³⁶ Samuel J. Kopetzky, M.D., speech at Cooperstown, N. Y., September 18, 1941.

are, among other activities, experimenting in a program with social workers to see how much can be done to rehabilitate draftees unfit for service. The sponsors of this last program, Dr. Kopetzky says, are especially anxious to discover whether or not there is any widespread demand for such assistance.³⁷

"Influencing the Affections"

Some of the public relations offices of various state branches of the AMA have developed considerable skill in getting its case before the public. There are public relations offices conducted by the state societies in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, the District of Columbia, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, Washington, and California. The New York State Society's bureau in 1937 began issuing prepared talks for use on the radio or before organizations and clubs on various medical problems such as tuberculosis, cancer, pneumonia, and the common cold. These conveyed scientific knowledge and also discouraged hit-or-miss self-medication. The New York bureau has made a careful study of the early broadcasts to judge their popular appeal. It found that the monotonous tones and over-technical words³⁸ showed the doctors' amateurishness in the art of public relations, and advised that they be replaced by professional radio artists. The bureau commented:

Being definitely an art form, radio should be used by artists, especially gifted and schooled. So we find radio to be an inadequate pedagogical instrument. But as a tool of public relations it is excellent. One of the functions of public relations is to change attitudes by influencing the affections.³⁹

Therefore the Bureau put on a radio program of dramatized biographical sketches of famous doctors over station WMCA, executed by professional actors. The program continued for thirteen weeks and received considerable favorable attention from members of the profession and the public.

Within the profession itself the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, edited by

Dr. Morris Fishbein, is the chief agency for disseminating the cardinal AMA belief that the general practitioner, "the little man with the black bag," operating under the fee-for-service system, gives the best available brand of medicine. In reaching the public nationally, however, the outstanding spokesman for private medicine is the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service. The history of this committee indicates its conservative affiliation. It is the descendant of the Physicians' Committee for Free Enterprise in Medicine, which cooperated with Frank Gannett, the publisher and active Republican opponent of New Deal policies, until he allowed his name to be proposed for the Republican Party nomination for the presidency. This connection deprived the committee of its non-partisan character, and "for this reason" the new committee was formed, according to the account in the *Journal of the Minnesota Medical Society*, an AMA branch.⁴⁰ From the same account it is apparent that the chief function of the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service is to place the AMA view before the public without the AMA itself engaging in propaganda activities. Such activities would subject the AMA's funds to income taxes.⁴¹

1,500,000 Copies Issued

The Committee continues the AMA attack on "Centralization of power in Government," and has helped local medical groups to place full page advertisements in newspapers and distributed numerous pamphlets. About 1,500,000 copies of the first pamphlet, *Priceless Heritage* have been sent out.⁴² The Committee, as it says, is taking "steps to insure the preservation of the sacred doctor and patient relationship."⁴³ About a sixth of the AMA's 109,000 members have subscribed to the Committee, it was indicated in 1940 by the *Michigan Medical Journal*:

Instead of a small group [said the magazine] who found a committee to Russianize our profession, now a committee of 20,000 physicians . . . are organizing to preserve the private practice of medicine.⁴⁴

The AMA began to be seriously challenged

³⁷ Dr. Kopetzky, statement to Institute interviewer.

³⁸ "Radio's Function in Public Relations," part of Bulletin No. 38, Public Relations Bureau, Medical Society of the State of New York (mimeographed), April 2, 1941, p. 4.

³⁹ "Radio's Function in Public Relations," part of Bulletin No. 38, Public Relations Bureau, Medical Society of the State of New York (mimeographed), April 2, 1941, p. 7.

⁴⁰ *Minnesota Medicine*, December, 1939, Vol. 22, p. 842.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Medical Care*, Summer, 1941, p. 277.

⁴³ Form letter by John M. Pratt to Dr. Peter Irving, Editor, New York State Journal of Medicine, August 11, 1941.

⁴⁴ *Michigan Medical Journal*, January, 1940.